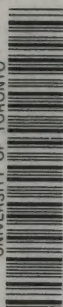
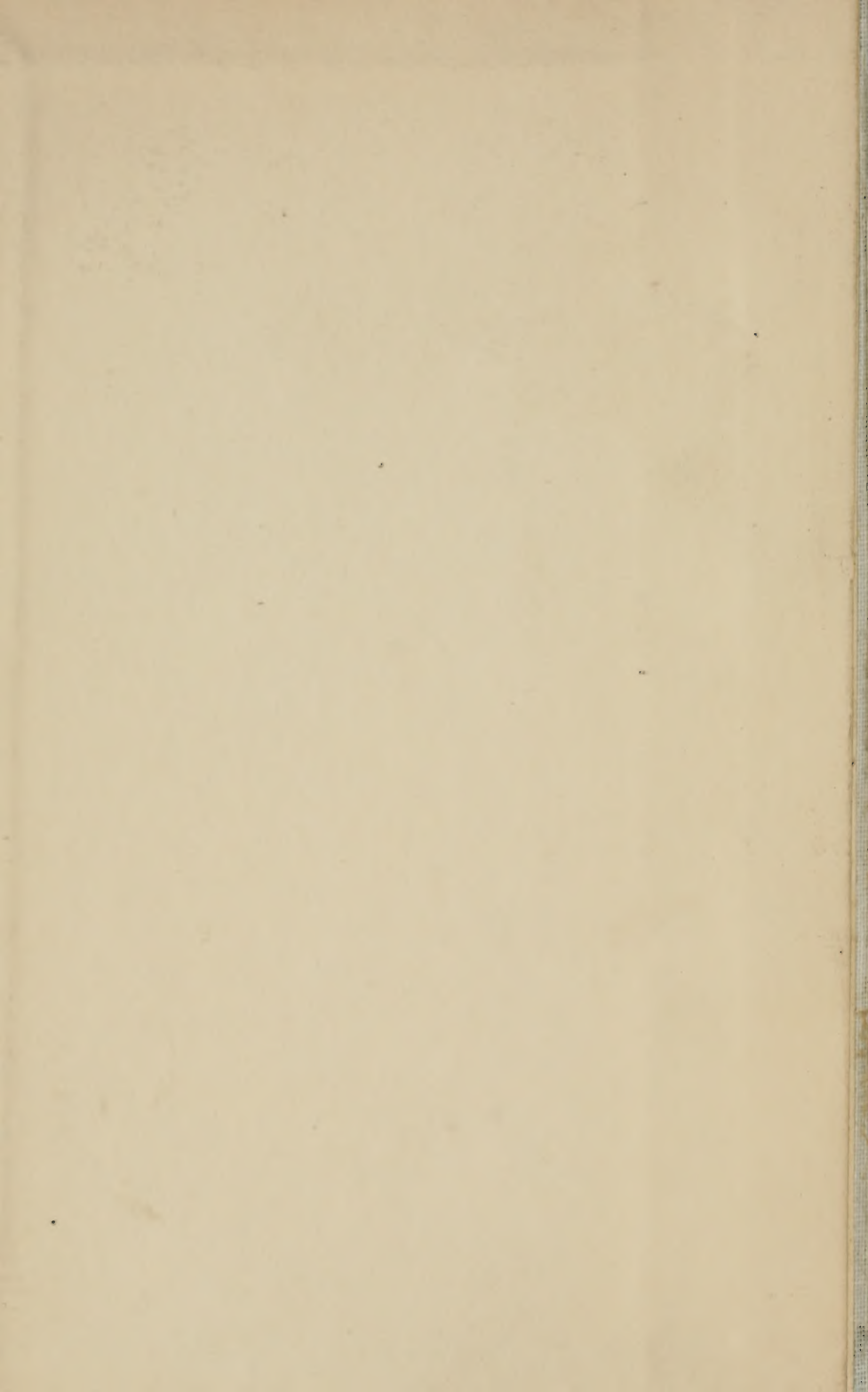


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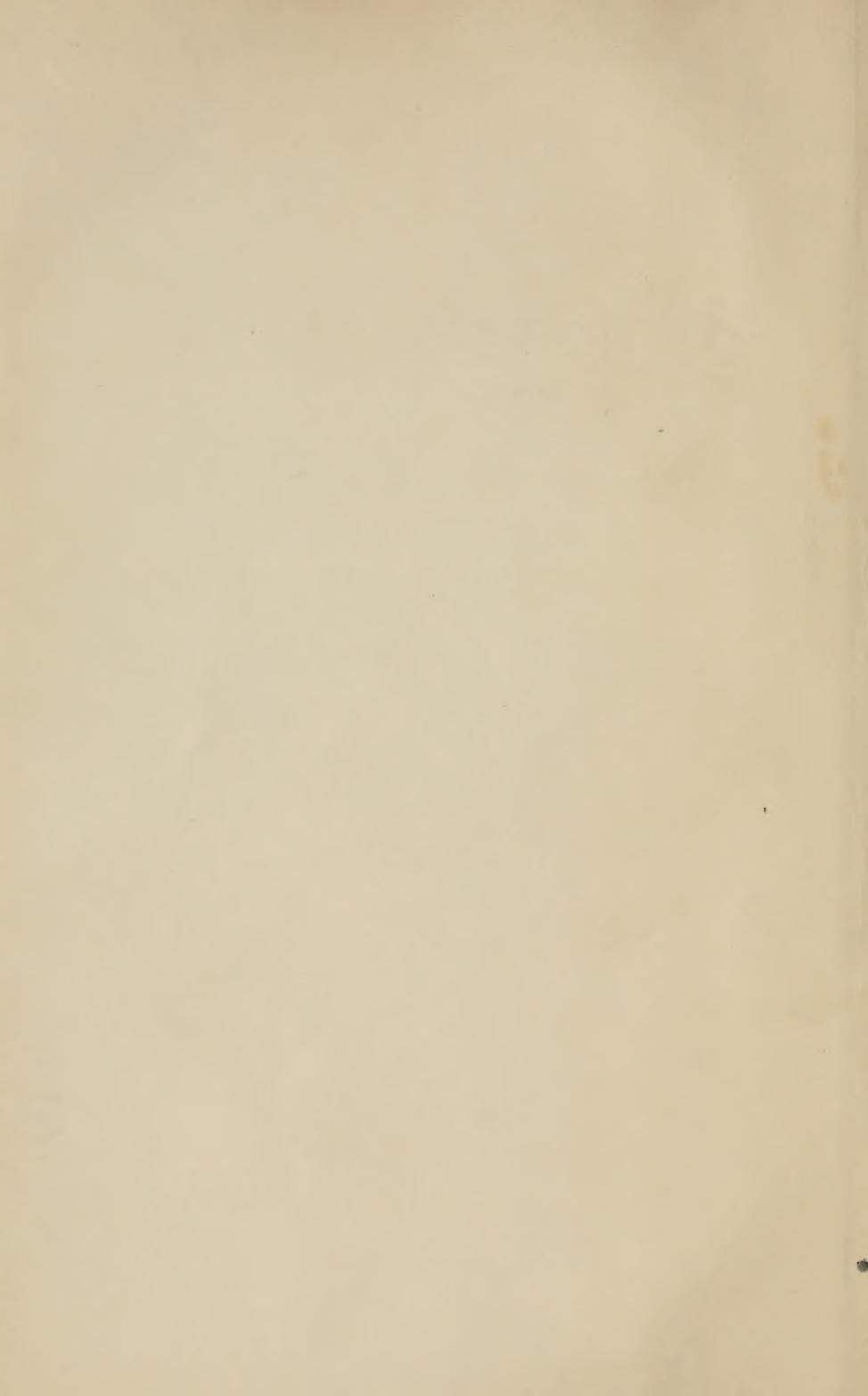
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THE CULTS OF OSTIA

BY


LILY ROSS TAYLOR

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Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, December, 1912

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## PREFACE


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The present study was presented to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in May, 1912, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It was begun at the suggestion of Professor J. B. Carter while I was a student at the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, in 1909-1910. I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Carter, and also to Professor A. W. Van Buren of the School, and to Professor A. L. Wheeler of Bryn Mawr College, both of whom read my manuscript and made a number of helpful criticisms. To Professor Tenney Frank of Bryn Mawr College, who supervised my work, I am under obligations for constant advice and criticism throughout all stages of this study.

L. R. T.

VASSAR COLLEGE,  
December 1, 1912.





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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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- Ann. dell'Inst.*—*Annali dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica.*  
*Bull. dell'Inst.*—*Bulletino dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica.*  
*CIG.*—*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.*  
*CIL.*<sup>1</sup>—*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*  
*EE.*—*Ephemeris Epigraphica.*  
*IG.*—*Inscriptiones Graecae.*  
*Mél.*—*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire del'École française de Rome.*  
*NS.*—*Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.*  
*Pauly-Wissowa*—*Pauly-Wissowa, Real Encyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.*  
*Roscher*—*Roscher, Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie.*  
*Ruggiero*—*Ruggiero, Dizionario epigrafico di Antichità romane.*

<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions cited by number only are from Vol. XIV. The inscriptions have been quoted without the indication of the divisions of the lines, and, in general, without the use of *sic* to show unusual or ungrammatical forms.



## INTRODUCTION

Ostia, the port of Rome, was situated at the mouth of the Tiber about sixteen miles from the metropolis. Under the name Ostia I include not only the original settlement on the south bank of the Tiber, but also the city, known as Portus, which grew up about the harbors of Claudius and Trajan two miles north of the river's mouth. Ostia was a city of considerable size during the second and third centuries after Christ. In the extent of its ruins and in the number of its inscriptions it is surpassed only by Rome and Pompeii in Italy. And yet its history and topography have received a relatively small share of attention. This neglect is due, at least in part, to the desultory and unscientific character of most of the excavations, and to the fact that, even when the excavations have been carefully conducted, the results have often been inadequately published.<sup>1</sup> At present, however, great interest is being aroused in this site by the more thorough work that is now in process there. Systematic excavations, begun in 1907 under the direction of the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction, bid fair to continue for

<sup>1</sup>The earliest excavations at Ostia, those of the Scotchman Gavin Hamilton and of the Englishman Robert Fagan at the end of the eighteenth century, were conducted simply in search of works of art and were never published. Excavations were carried on under various auspices intermittently throughout the nineteenth century, and accounts and discussions of them occurred in various journals, such as the *Annali* and *Bulletino dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica*. Since 1876 accounts of the work have appeared in the *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*. See Paschetto, *Ostia, colonia romana*, pp. 485 ff.



some years.<sup>2</sup> Very valuable results have already been obtained, and more may be expected in the future. A great service has been rendered archaeologists by the prompt publication of the finds by Professor Dante Vaglieri who is in charge of the work at Ostia. In addition to this, Signore L. Paschetto has recently published a comprehensive monograph dealing with the history and topography of the city.<sup>3</sup> Important contributions to these subjects have also been made by M. Carcopino<sup>4</sup> of the French school in Rome.<sup>5</sup>

These recent discoveries and researches have provided new and valuable evidence for the history of the city, which is still, however, obscure in many important details. Before proceeding to a discussion of the various cults of Ostia, it is desirable to outline briefly those facts in the history of the city which are essential to the understanding of such a study.

According to a tradition never questioned by Roman historians, Ostia, which was generally supposed to be the first colony of Rome, was founded by King Ancus Marcius.<sup>6</sup> Ennius (*Ann.* II. frg. 22 V<sup>2</sup>) and Polybius (VI. 2, 9), whose

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* NS. 1907 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ostia, colonia romana, storia e monumenti*. Prefazione di Dante Vaglieri, in *Dissertazioni della pont. accad. rom. di arch.* Ser. II, Tomo X, 1912, pp. 1-593. 3 plans.

<sup>4</sup> On the port of Claudius, NS. 1907, pp. 734-740; on the mosaic of the barracks of the *vigiles*, *Mél.* 1907, pp. 227-241. A series of articles entitled *Ostiensia* by Carcopino is now appearing in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École française de Rome*. Thus far four have appeared:—I. *Glanures épigraphiques*, 1909, pp. 341-364; II. *Le Quartier des docks*, 1910, pp. 397-446; III. *Les inscriptions gamaliennes*, 1911, pp. 143-230; IV. *Notes complémentaires*, 1911, pp. 365-368. Cf. also *Les récentes fouilles d'Ostie*, *Journal des Savants*, 1911, pp. 448-468.

<sup>5</sup> It is fortunate that the inscriptions have been published by so careful a scholar as Dessau. See *CIL.* XIV (1887), nos. 1-2085; 4127-4175; *EE.* VII (1892), nos. 1190-1233; *ibid.* IX (1910), nos. 433-570. Another supplement containing inscriptions of Ostia is soon to appear.

<sup>6</sup> Livy I. 33; XXVII. 38; Dionys. III. 44; Cic. *De Rep.* II. 18, 23.

common source was probably Fabius Pictor, preserve the tradition of the early date, without mentioning a colony there. Fabius may have drawn upon a legend current in his day, or perhaps he found his information in the pontifical records. But since the data for the regal period in these records had been composed entirely of legendary matter,<sup>7</sup> we must conclude that the story of the founding of Ostia is no more worthy of credence than the rest of the history of the kings, as reported by Fabius. The sum of our knowledge is that before the end of the third century B. C. a legend was current to the effect that the city of Ostia was founded several centuries before, though not certainly as a colony. In Cicero's day tradition held that Ancus Marcius had also established the colony, and Festus is the only writer who indicates that it was not established until after the foundation of the city by Ancus. Compare Festus, p. 197 M. *Ostiam urbem ad exitum Tiberis in mare fluentis Ancus Marcius rex condidisse et feminino appellasse vocabulo fertur; quod sive ad urbem sive ad coloniam quae postea condita est refertur.*

This tradition of the early foundation of the colony at Ostia has not been questioned until recently. Vaglieri has noted<sup>8</sup> that so far the excavations in the tombs on the present site have brought to light no objects which can be dated before the third century, and that there are no references to the existence of a naval station at Ostia<sup>9</sup> before the

<sup>7</sup> Enmann, *Rheinisches Museum*, 1902, pp. 517 ff.; Cichorius s. v. *Annales Maximi*, Pauly-Wissowa.

<sup>8</sup> NS. 1910, p. 550 n. 1; *Bull. Com.* 1911, pp. 244 f. Introduction to Paschetto, *op. cit.* pp. xxiv f. Cf. also Carcopino, *Journal des Savants*, 1911, p. 467.

<sup>9</sup> Vaglieri notes that the city must have been established before the institution of the *quaestores classici* in 267 B. C. Cf. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, II. p. 570; Herzog, *Römische Staatsverfassung*, I. pp. 823-825, shows that there is no good reason for calling the quaestor stationed at Ostia a *quaestor classicus*.

time of the Hannibalic War.<sup>10</sup> In attempting to date the colony, some aid may be obtained from considerations of an economic nature.

The tract of land that belonged to Ostia was confined by the Tiber and the Laurentian territory to a very few square miles of marshy or sandy land which was quite unfit for cultivation. It could not, therefore, have served the purposes of an agricultural colony. There are, however, two reasons why the site might have been desirable to the Romans at an early period—first, the ease with which salt could be procured at this point, and second, the value of the locality for a port. Let us consider whether either of these reasons might have led Rome to plant a colony here early in her history.

Salt works were said to have been established by Ancus Marcius at the time of the foundation of Ostia.<sup>11</sup> Since Rome must have procured her salt from the region about the mouth of the Tiber<sup>12</sup> from the earliest times, it is probable that Rome's object in seizing the region was to gain control of the *Salinae*. It is very likely that a village inhabited by laborers in the *Salinae* sprang up here very early. The salt industry, however, though not privately owned, was controlled in early times by contract and not directly by the state.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore Rome was very slow to adopt a policy of furnishing state protection even to quasi-public business interests. The existence of salt-works in the region cannot therefore explain the establishment of a colony of Roman citizens at Ostia.

<sup>10</sup> Further evidence is supplied by a number of republican coins discovered in 1909. No coins were found which could be dated before 254 B. C. Cf. Carcopino, *l. c.* p. 467.

<sup>11</sup> Livy I. 33; Pliny, *H. N.* xxxi. 41, 89.

<sup>12</sup> The salt works on the north bank of the river seem to have been older. Cf. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, II. p. 543, 566.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, II. pp. 159 ff.; Ros-towzew, *Philol. Supp.* ix. p. 411.



The need of a port for Rome's growing commerce is the reason generally assigned by both ancient and modern authorities for the early establishment of a colony at Ostia.<sup>14</sup> And yet the indications are that until the third century B. C. Rome had little interest in commerce.<sup>15</sup> There is slight evidence that the Greeks had met Roman traders before that time. Moreover, before 282 Rome had been bound by a treaty with Tarentum which prevented her ships from passing the Lacinian headlands—a treaty which could not have been signed by any state that had the least real interest in maritime commerce.<sup>16</sup> Further indications of the same fact may be found in Rome's failure to build a navy before the First Punic War, in the relatively small amount of foreign ware dating from the early Republic as yet discovered in Roman excavations, and, finally, in the insignificance of the coinage issued from the Roman mint before the year 268 B. C. In view of the facts, therefore, that very few Romans engaged in maritime commerce before the third century and that the state was always unwilling to incur public expense even for domestic, not to speak of foreign enterprises, it is difficult to believe that Rome for commercial reasons could have founded a colony of citizens at the Tiber's mouth long before the third century.

The original settlement in the neighborhood of Ostia, then, was probably made up chiefly of people connected with the *Salinae*.<sup>17</sup> Since the results of excavations indicate that the settlement on the present site is not of great antiquity, the suggestion that the original village may have been nearer to Rome than was the later city commends itself.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps

<sup>14</sup> Dionys. III. 44; Isidorus, *Orig.* xv. 1. 56; Jung, *Geographie von Italien*, p. 31; Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, II. pp. 566-567.

<sup>15</sup> On Rome's commerce cf. Blümner, *Privatleben der Römer*, pp. 618 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Polybius, III. 22.

<sup>17</sup> This is the opinion of Vaglieri, *l. c.*

<sup>18</sup> This suggestion was made first by Canina, *Dissertazioni dell'accad. pontif. di Archeologia*, VII (1838), pp. 265 ff. Cf. Dessau *CIL*. XIV

Festus, in the passage quoted above, preserved the truth with regard to the subsequent foundation of the colony, even if he is too credulous in adopting the legend about Ancus Marcius.

Although it is impossible to determine when the colony was established here, general considerations enable us to fix upon a probable date. The recent excavations have made it seem likely that the present site was not inhabited before the third century B. C. The bold appearance of Roman ships at Tarentum in 282, in violation of the terms of the treaty, indicates that Roman shipping was assuming important proportions in the early third century. So far as we know, the earliest maritime colonies were planted at Antium (338 B. C.) and at Tarracina (329), sea-coast towns which had fallen to Rome in the Latin War.<sup>19</sup> The fact that in 317 the Antiates complained to the Senate *se sine legibus certis, sine magistratibus agere* (Livy ix. 20) shows that Rome, still inexperienced in the management of colonies of citizens, had not yet evolved her later system under which *duumviri* and *aediles* were the regular magistrates of these colonies.<sup>20</sup>

p. 3, n. 8. Recently it has received support from Vaglieri, *l. c.* But the theory of Canina that the city was gradually extended along the river as the coast line advanced has not been supported by the results of the excavations. The present site seems to have been laid out at the time of its occupation along lines that held throughout its history. Cf. Carcopino, *Journal des Savants*, 1911, pp. 466 f.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Kornemann, s. v. *coloniae*, Pauly-Wissowa, cols. 520 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Beloch, *Der italische Bund*, 1880, p. 114, makes the statement: "Die Verfassung der See-colonien war im Allgemeinen der der Colonien lateinischen Rechts nachgebildet. Wie dort, so stehen auch hier 2 Praetoren an der Spitze der Stadt, die sich z. B. in Castrum Novum bis in die Kaiserzeit hinein erhalten haben. Die *Practores sacris Volcano* (sic) *faciundis*, die wir später in Ostia finden, scheinen zu beweisen, dass einst auch dieser Stadt Praetoren vorstanden, wenn auch in Folge der augusteischen Colonisation hier die Duumviralverfassung eingeführt worden ist. Dagegen in den nach dem hannibalischen Kriege deducirten See-colonien haben sich die obersten Magistrate nicht mehr Praetoren genannt, sondern Duumviri." Beloch's conclusion is

In 296 Rome continued her policy of securing the sea-coast for herself by planting colonies of citizens at Minturnae and Sinuessa. Probably earlier than this, but not much earlier than 300 B. C., she saw the desirability of safeguarding her commerce and her natural harbor by placing a colony of citizens at the mouth of the Tiber, a locality that had long been her undisputed possession.

At the time of the Second Punic War Ostia was already a walled town and a very important naval station.<sup>21</sup> When in 207 citizens of a number of maritime colonies petitioned for exemption from military service, the request was granted only to Ostia and Antium (Livy xxvii. 38). Citizens of these two places were, however, required not to be absent from their towns more than thirty days at a time when a foreign foe was in Italy. But when these two cities with several others requested exemption from service in the fleet in 191, the petition was not granted (Livy xxxvi. 3).

During the period of the Republic, Ostia had no harbor, and so ships were forced to land in the mouth of the Tiber.<sup>22</sup>

not supported by the facts. We shall consider later the question of the praetors of Vulcan of Ostia. The case of Castrum Novum in Picenum, which is known to have had praetors, is of very doubtful value as evidence, since it is by no means certain whether the colony of citizens of the third century was established there or at the city of the same name in Etruria. Of the citizen-colonies supposed to have been founded before the time of the Gracchi, the only one which is known to have had praetors is Auximum, and the evidence for the establishment of a colony there (Velleius i. 15, 3) is by no means certain. There seems no reason to believe that the citizen-colonies were ever governed as the Latin colonies were. They were probably governed by *duumviri* from the first. Moreover, there is no support for Beloch's supposition that Augustus reorganized Ostia or that he altered the administrative system of the colony.

<sup>21</sup> Carcopino (*Mél.* 1911, p. 155, n. 2) calls attention to the reference to the wall of Ostia in Livy xxvii. 23, 3. For other references to Ostia as a naval station cf. Livy xxii. 11 and 37; xxiii. 38; xxv. 20; xxvii. 22.

<sup>22</sup> Dionys. iii. 44; Polyb. xxxi. 20, 11.

Indeed the alluvial deposit made by the river, which has now built the land out three miles beyond ancient Ostia, had, as early as the latter part of the Republic, made it impossible for larger ships to cross the bar at the mouth of the river and reach the channel. Strabo (v. 3, 5, p. 231) described in very strong terms the disadvantages and dangers of the port in his day (*ca.* 20 B. C.), and thought it surprising that ships still came there. Caesar planned to remedy matters by constructing an artificial harbor, but his death prevented the fulfilment of the plan (Plutarch, *Caes.* 58).

Long before the time of Caesar, Rome had secured as a second port Puteoli, which, though about a hundred and fifty miles distant, commended itself because of its excellent harbor. Puteoli had first been necessary to Rome for military purposes during the Punic Wars. But it was undoubtedly her growing commerce that caused her to establish a custom house there in 199 and five years later a colony of Roman citizens. Since Southern Italy was already in far closer contact with the Orient than Rome was, it is not surprising that Puteoli became Rome's emporium for trade with the Orient and especially with Egypt.<sup>23</sup>

Ostia remained, throughout the Republic and early Empire, the chief port for the grain supply, and seems also to have been in closer relationship with the Occident than was Puteoli.<sup>24</sup> But the superiority of Puteoli's facilities as a port is at least partially responsible for the fact that so few monuments and inscriptions of the Republic and early Empire have been found at Ostia. Though the excavations now in progress are bringing to light important remains of republican buildings, so far there is very little evidence for the history of the colony during that period and the early

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Charles Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique*, *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, Vol. 98, Paris, 1907, pp. 65 ff. For a comparison of Ostia and Puteoli *vide* pp. 78 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Dubois, *op. cit.* p. 79, is probably right in drawing this inference from Pliny, *H. N.* xix. 3.



Empire. The city seems not to have become important before the time of Claudius.

Caesar's plan of making a good harbor was finally carried out by Claudius, who did not attempt to make the port at Ostia; he chose a site two miles to the north, which he connected with the Tiber by means of a canal. Here he built an artificial basin and constructed a lighthouse. The work had already been begun in 42 A. D.<sup>25</sup> Representations of the port on coins of Nero indicate that it was not finally dedicated until the reign of that emperor<sup>26</sup> to whose jealousy is due the fact that it was called Portus Augusti rather than Portus Claudii. Even this harbor proved inadequate to the needs of the shipping, and accordingly it was enlarged by Trajan. An hexagonal basin was constructed inside the port of Claudius and was given the name Portus Traiani. Considerable remains of both basins may be seen today. A flourishing town with many important public buildings soon sprang up about the port, from which it received the name Portus.<sup>27</sup>

Although Portus was two miles distant from the old town of Ostia and separated from it by the Tiber, until the fourth century the two cities were under the same municipal organization and had the same magistrates and priests.<sup>28</sup> Ostia proper, far from decreasing in importance after the new port was built, became a large commercial city, with perhaps 50,000 inhabitants.<sup>29</sup> The remains of the city, which date

<sup>25</sup> Cassius Dio, LX. 11. Cf. *CIL*. XIV 85.

<sup>26</sup> Cohen, *Médailles impériales*, I. Nero, 33-41.

<sup>27</sup> The best discussion of the remains of Portus is that of Lanciani, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1868, pp. 144 ff. Lanciani's plan of the harbor of Trajan is given in *Mon. dell'Inst.* VIII. Pl. XLIX. The excavations at Portus, which have not been continued since 1870, have been incomplete and unscientific. The most fruitful work has been that on the Torlonia estate. On the port of Claudius cf. Carcopino, *NS.* 1907, pp. 734 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Déssau, *op. cit.* p. 6.

<sup>29</sup> See Paschetto, *op. cit.* p. 187.

chiefly from the second and third centuries after Christ, seem to show that it was almost entirely rebuilt after the construction of the port. Inscriptions furnish much valuable evidence for the history of the colony during this period. The emperors of the second century seem to have been particularly zealous in adorning the city.

The population of Ostia during this period was largely of the middle and lower classes. Aristocratic Romans, although they owned villas along the neighboring coast, seem not to have been attracted to Ostia. The commercial character of the population is well shown by the large number of professional *collegia* attested in the inscriptions. Traders from the East who had hitherto flocked to Puteoli began to come to Ostia after the construction of the port of Claudius. When later Trajan's port afforded still greater facilities for landing near Rome, the Campanian city declined markedly in importance, as her northern rival rose.<sup>30</sup>

Most of our evidence for the religious history of Ostia falls within the two centuries following the establishment of the new port. This was the period when Oriental religions were everywhere undermining the old Roman beliefs and religious forms. At Ostia, where there was more constant contact with the East than elsewhere, the old cults had a particularly difficult and often an unsuccessful struggle to hold their own. The most important Oriental worship were firmly established here in the second century. Christianity early gained a strong foothold, and the later history of Ostia and Portus is closely bound up with the history of the Church.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Dubois, *op. cit.* p. 81. In 172 A. D. the Tyrians of Puteoli complained of the decrease in numbers and wealth of their colony.

<sup>31</sup> The later history of Ostia and Portus is in many details obscure. See Vaglieri's interesting comments (*NS.* 1910, p. 106) on a recently discovered inscription of Ragonius Vincentius Celsus *vir clarissimus*, who seems to have erected a statue to *Urbs* which was paid for by the inhabitants of Ostia.

The present study is, however, concerned only with the pagan cults of Ostia. The evidence for these cults is, of course, mainly epigraphical, and, as we have indicated, dates chiefly from the second and third centuries after Christ. Inscriptions of religious significance, while they are rare in the first century of the Empire, are, with one possible exception, entirely lacking for the Republic.<sup>32</sup> In that period our only direct evidence for the religion of the city is found in one of the rare literary references which give information about the cults of Ostia (Liv. xxxii. 1, 10). Finds of statues and reliefs supplement our knowledge of the cults of the city.<sup>33</sup> Especially important is the bas-relief found at Portus, now in the Museo Torlonia, which gives a view of the harbor of Claudius.<sup>34</sup>

The most important evidence for the history of the Church at Ostia is summarized by Dessau, *CIL*. xiv p. 5. See Paschetto, *op. cit.* pp. 177 ff. Evidence for the presence of Jews has been found at Portus. Cf. *ibid.* pp. 175 ff.

<sup>32</sup> While further excavations will doubtless add to the list of shrines, it is hardly probable that new cults of importance will be discovered. The list of the priests of the colony must be practically complete.

<sup>33</sup> It is doubtful how far one may venture to use the statues, reliefs, etc. found at Ostia and Portus as evidence for the cults of these cities. Statues of Venus and Bacchus, for instance, were used so much by the Romans for ornamental purposes, that it is doubtful whether one may attach any religious significance to such statues discovered at Ostia. If the interesting winged female statue recently discovered at Ostia represents Athena Victrix, as Savignoni believes it does (*Ausonia*, 1910, pp. 69 ff.), it cannot be regarded as evidence for the cult of that goddess in the port. The case is different with representations of Oriental gods. Many of the statues found in the excavations of the eighteenth century are in private collections in England (cf. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, index s. v. Ostia); others are in the Vatican. Since 1800 the finds, except for a few which have been placed in the small museum at Ostia, have gone to museums in Rome, the Vatican, the Lateran, and, more recently, the National Museum. Objects found at Portus have gone chiefly to the Lateran and the Museo Torlonia. I have not attempted in this study to make a complete list of statues of the gods found in Ostia and Portus.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Guglielmotti, *Delle due navi romane scolpite sul bassorilievo del*

Remains of no less than eleven temples and of several small shrines have been discovered at Ostia and Portus.<sup>35</sup> Only the shrines of Mithras, the form of which is unmistakable, a shrine of the emperors, and the temple of Magna Mater at Ostia can be identified beyond a doubt. Various suggestions for the identification of the other temples have been made. Sometimes, as in the case of the so-called temple of Portunus at Portus,<sup>36</sup> the identification has been

*Musco Torlonia, Atti della pont. Accad. di Archeologia, Serie II. vol. 1, pp. 1-81; Cavedoni, Bull. dell'Inst. 1864, pp. 219 ff.; Henzen, Ann. dell'Inst. 1864, pp. 12 ff.; C. L. Visconti, Catalogo del Musco Torlonia, no. 430; Inscription 2033.*

<sup>35</sup> The most important temple of Ostia is the large one on a high podium which was long the chief landmark of the city. It has been variously attributed to Vulcan, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and Castor and Pollux. A temple in the centre of the so-called Forum has been identified as that of Ceres or of Roma and Augustus. Four small temples near the theatre are perhaps to be identified as those of Venus, Fortuna, Ceres, and Spes.

At Portus the only ruins of temples which may be seen today are those of the large round temple to the east of the port of Trajan, which was identified as that of Portunus on the basis of a forged inscription. Within the estate of the Torlonia family another round temple, supposed to be that of Bacchus, was found. Altmann, *Die Rundbauten in Latium*, p. 69, says of these temples: "Heute zeigt keine Spur mehr, wo beide gelegen haben." Then he gives a summary of Nibby's description of the so-called temple of Portunus, which fits excellently the temple now standing. Another small temple, of which some architectural fragments may be seen today, was unearthed to the south of the port of Trajan. This has not been identified. Within the so-called Palazzo Imperiale were found remains of still another temple which was believed to be that of Hercules.

<sup>36</sup> Ligorio forged several inscriptions to Portunus which he claimed to have found in the round temple at Portus discussed above. Cf. *CIL*. xiv \*16, \*17, \*18. Portunus, who was the god of harbors, might naturally have been expected to have a temple in Ostia or Portus, and the words of Varro, *L. L.* vi. 19, have been thought to prove the existence of such a temple: *Portunalia dicta a Portuno cui eo die aedes in Portu Tiberino facta et feriae institutae*. If the words of Varro are to be referred to Rome's harbor, we must look for the temple in Ostia since there was no settlement at Portus until after the time of Varro. It is very likely, however, that Varro refers to a temple in Rome



based on spurious inscriptions, but in other cases, as for instance that of the supposed temple of Jupiter at Ostia, the evidence for the identification is very good. No attempt to solve the problems connected with these temples has been made in the present investigation for which independent topographical study has been impossible.

itself—and probably to the small circular one in the Forum Boarium which is now known as Santa Maria del Sole. Cf. Huelsen, *Dissertazioni della pont. Accad. romana di Archeologia*, Series II. 1897, pp. 262 ff.



## CHAPTER I

### GREEK AND ROMAN GODS

The evidence for the cults of Ostia is so late that it is useless to try to distinguish between Greek and Roman gods. The various cults have therefore been taken up so far as possible in order of the probable date of their establishment and, when this has not been possible, in order of importance.

#### VULCAN

Probably the oldest cult of Ostia was that of Vulcan whose temple was first in the list of those restored by P. Lucilius Gamala.<sup>1</sup> Compare 375, l. 21. [I]dem aedem Volcani

<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions 375 and 376 which record the benefactions of P. Lucilius Gamala to the city of Ostia have given rise to extended discussion. 375, which is not extant but rests on excellent manuscript authority, came from Portus. The *provenance* of 376, which is now in the Vatican, is not known. The latter inscription is approximately dated by the mention of a restoration by Gamala of baths constructed by divus Pius (after 161). The differences in the benefactions recorded and in the *cursus* of Gamala as given in the two inscriptions are as baffling as are the similarities, and have led to various explanations. The most recent is that of Carcopino: *Les inscriptions gamaliennes*, *Mél.* 1911, pp. 143-230, cf. bibliography cited p. 143. Carcopino takes the view held originally by Mommsen and later by Homolle, that these inscriptions refer to two different men. The later view of Mommsen, which agrees with the opinion of Dessau, is that the two refer to the same man, who lived in the time of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. Carcopino thinks that the first Gamala (375) died in the reign of Claudius (44 B. C.) and the second (376) under Marcus Aurelius (between 166 and 180). Although Carcopino's dating of 375 in 44 B. C. is not altogether convincing, his explanation of the two inscriptions has much in its favor. In the following pages we shall refer to 375 as the inscription of the first Gamala, and to 376

sua pecunia restituit. The chief evidence for the cult is found in the titles, peculiar to Ostia, *pontifex Volcani et aedium sacrarum*,<sup>2</sup> *praetor*<sup>3</sup> and *aedilis*<sup>4</sup> *sacris Volcani faciundis*. These titles occur frequently in the inscriptions of Ostia, sometimes as a man's only title, and again in the *cursus* of an important member of the community.

The *pontifex Volcani et aedium sacrarum* was the chief religious officer of Ostia.<sup>5</sup> There seems to have been no pontifical college in the colony.<sup>6</sup> The title of the *pontifex* apparently indicates that at the time when the pontificate was instituted Vulcan was the most important god of Ostia. This *pontifex* was in charge of all the temples of Ostia and Portus; his permission seems to have been necessary before statues could be erected in sacred precincts or gifts of importance could be dedicated in sanctuaries. Compare 47 which records gifts made in the Sarapeum of Portus and ends

as that of the second Gamala. It may be well to quote here the portions of the two inscriptions which refer to the temples restored by the Gamalas: 375, ll. 21-33. [i]dem aedem Volcani sua pecunia restituit. [i]dem aedem Veneris sua pecunia constituit. [i]dem aed. Fortunae sua pecunia constituit. [i]dem aed. Cereris sua pecunia constituit. [i]dem pondera ad macellum cum M. Turratio sua pecunia fecit. [idem] aedem Spei sua pecunia [cons]tituit. 376. ll. 13-22. idem aedem Castoris et Pollucis rest. idem curator pecuniae publicae exigendae et attribuendae in comitiis factus cellam patri Tiberino restituit. idem thermas quas divus Pius aedif[i]caverat vi ignis consumptas refecit, porticum reparavit. idem aedem Veneris impensa sua restituit.

<sup>2</sup> 47, 72, 132, 324, 325, 352, 4145. Differences in the abbreviations and spellings of these and the following titles are given in Dessau's lists, *CIL*. xiv p. 573.

<sup>3</sup> 3, 349, 390, 391, 402, 412, 415, *NS*. 1911, p. 286. For *praetor primus, secundus, tertius*, see below.

<sup>4</sup> 3, 351, 375, 376, 390, 391. The inscription quoted *NS*. 1910, p. 107 refers either to an aedile or to a praetor.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dessau, *CIL*. xiv p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> The simple title *pontifex* which occurs only in the inscriptions of the two Gamalas, in 354, and in 4128 is probably identical with the longer title.

with the words: *Permissu C. Nasenni Marcelli pontificis Volcani et aedium sacrarum et Q. Lolli Rufi Chrysidiani et M. Aemili Vitalis Crepereiani II. vir(um)*. 324 records the permission of the *pontifex* for the erection of a statue in the *Campus Matris Deum*:<sup>7</sup> *M. Antius Crescens Calpurnianus pontif. Volk. et aedium sacrar. statuam poni in campo Matris Deum infantilem permisi* (consular date 203 A. D.). 352 refers to the erection of a statue of a priest of Isis, probably in sacred precincts, as is indicated by the words: *locus datus a Iulio Faustino pont. Vulk. aed. sacrar.* The importance of the office *pontifex Volcani et aedium sacrarum* is proved by the fact that in two cases it is held by Romans of senatorial rank (324, 325 of the same man, 72).

The question of the origin and duties of the *praetores* and *aediles sacris Volcani faciundis* presents greater difficulties. There must have been at times as many as three praetors, for the titles *praetor primus* (306, 373, 432), *secundus* (341), *tertius* (376), apparently referring to the rank of the officers, are found. One occurrence of the title *aedilis secundus* (*EE*. ix 448) proves that more than one aedile existed. In three cases one man is both aedile and praetor.<sup>8</sup> The fact that in one instance a boy who died at the age of four years was *pr(aetor) pr(imus) sacr(is) Volka(ni faciundis)*<sup>9</sup> leads to the belief that the offices were sometimes honorary during the Empire at least. These praetors and aediles were frequently men of prominence in the colony, *decuriones*,<sup>10</sup> holders of important priesthoods,<sup>11</sup> and, in two instances, Roman knights.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 325.

<sup>8</sup> 3, 376; 390 and 391 of the same man.

<sup>9</sup> 306. Cf. also 341 in which a boy of twelve years is *praetor secundus*, and is also a decurion and a Roman knight.

<sup>10</sup> 375, 376, 349, 412, 415. *NS*. 1911, p. 286.

<sup>11</sup> 373, 391. *NS*. 1910, p. 107.

<sup>12</sup> 341, 390 and 391.

There are two main theories as to the origin of these praetors and aediles. Henzen,<sup>13</sup> who is followed by Beloch<sup>14</sup> and by Paschetto,<sup>15</sup> believed that they were the original magistrates of the colony and that, after they were replaced by *duumviri* and *aediles*, the former magistrates survived and were connected with the religious rites of Vulcan, the chief god of the city. Mommsen,<sup>16</sup> on the other hand, held the theory that these officers were from the first religious, that Ostia had no independent government of her own for a long time, but was governed directly by Rome, who permitted her to have magistrates *ad sacra*.<sup>17</sup>

Both these explanations assume that the magistrates in question performed the priestly offices of the colony from the earliest times, and that they persisted in this function after the duumviral system was instituted for the civil magistrates. This assumption is quite impossible, however, if Ostia did not become a colony until late in the fourth century B. C. If one remembers that the praetorship was established at Rome in 366 purely as a judicial and military magistracy, one can hardly believe that a colony of Roman citizens founded afterwards, so near Rome, should have employed the praetor's title for the priestly office, or for the combined civil and sacred magistracy. Moreover, it is probable that the duumviral system of magistracies existed at Ostia from its foundation as a colony.<sup>18</sup>

It is necessary, therefore, to find some explanation for these priesthoods which will more satisfactorily fit the conditions that we now believe to have existed in the region in early times.

<sup>13</sup> *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1859, p. 197.

<sup>14</sup> *Der italische Bund*, p. 114.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 117.

<sup>16</sup> *EE.* III. p. 326; *Staatsrecht*, III. p. 777.

<sup>17</sup> Dessau, *CIL.* XIV p. 4, and Ruggiero s. v. *aedilis* p. 270, state both theories, and come to no definite conclusion in the matter.

<sup>18</sup> See introduction.



It is very likely that Vulcan was the chief god of the small village which, as we have seen, probably existed in this neighborhood prior to the foundation of the colony. This village, established as it was on *ager Romanus*, could have had no independent municipal organization; yet like every *pagus* or *vicus*,<sup>19</sup> it must have centred about a common cult. The suggestion may be offered that the praetors and aediles of Vulcan were originally officials of that village, devoted primarily to the worship of Vulcan, though perhaps possessing certain supplementary duties. Parallels may be found in officials of other *pagi* and *vici*. The aediles of the *vicus* of Furfo, elective officers who were in charge of the temple of Jupiter Liber, had command of the sacred funds, and were allowed to impose certain fines at will and to dispose of temple property.<sup>20</sup> A reference to *aedilitas ad deam Pelinam* in a *pagus* near Superaequum (*CIL.* ix 3314) is significant because here, as at Ostia, the name of the god is attached to the title of the officer of the *pagus*. The usual officers of *pagi* and *vici* were *magistri*; <sup>21</sup> *aediles* are found occasionally,<sup>22</sup> and an archaic inscription records *queistores* (*CIL.* ix 3849). It is true that the epigraphical evidence, which dates chiefly from the Empire, contains no reference to a praetor as an official of a *pagus* or a *vicus*. But many of the Latin towns had praetors as chief magistrates in historical times, and if, as seems likely, the Latin tribe lived originally according to the village-community system, several of these towns must have sprung from *vici*. The use of the title praetor for the chief officer of a small village near Rome would then have been natural.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> On *pagi* and *vici* cf. A. Schulten, *Die Landgemeinden im römischen Reich*, *Philol.* 53, pp. 629-686.

<sup>20</sup> *CIL.* ix 3513. In Campania during the first century B. C. the various *pagi* under their *magistri* even gave games under the care of the *magistri fani*. Cf. *CIL.* x 3772 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Schulten, *l. c.* pp. 641, 665.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. s. v. *aedilis*, Ruggiero, p. 266.

<sup>23</sup> The closest parallel to these officers of Ostia is to be found in



After the establishment of the colony the *praetores* and *aediles sacris Volcani faciundis* probably retained their priestly offices, though the titles were sometimes purely honorary during the Empire. The *pontifices Volcani et aedium sacrarum* were perhaps instituted only after the colony was founded.

It is impossible to determine the nature of the cult of Vulcan at Ostia. Wissowa<sup>24</sup> says, "In Ostia genoss Vulcanus eine sehr hohe Verehrung, weil für die Docks und Speicher der Hafenstadt die Feuersgefahr ganz besonders zu fürchten war." But there are no dedications which prove that the god was so worshiped at Ostia, and, furthermore, it is probable that his cult existed before any docks and granaries were constructed. Carcopino<sup>25</sup> sees in the worship "un culte qui plonge par de profondes racines dans le plus lointain passé des origines latines, un culte aussi vieux, aussi étendu, aussi vénérable que celui des Pénates de Lavinium, de la Diane d'Aricie, de Juno Sospita à Lanuvium, un culte, enfin, que Rome conquérante évoqua dans les murs en même temps qu'elle le maintenait en son nom, au mieux de ses intérêts et de son prestige, au pays dont il était originaire." Carcopino is doubtless correct in his view of the antiquity of the worship of Vulcan.<sup>26</sup> It is not impossible that the

the *praetor*, *aedilis*, and *sacerdos Etruriae*, mentioned in a few inscriptions of the Empire. The *sacerdos* was certainly an old office, but Bormann (*Archäol. Epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 1887, pp. 112 ff.) advanced the theory that the aediles and perhaps the praetors were instituted under Augustus. The Etruscan magistrates seem to have officiated at a festival at Volsinii. Unfortunately very little is known of the magistrates. Cf. Ruggiero, s. v. *aedilis*, pp. 269-270.

<sup>24</sup> *Religion und Kultus der Römer*,<sup>2</sup> p. 230.

<sup>25</sup> *Mél.* 1911, p. 188.

<sup>26</sup> Carcopino's most recent statement is less convincing. Cf. *Comptes Rendus*, 1912, p. 104 (report of the meeting of the *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres* of April 12, 1912). In speaking of the rôle of Ostia in the Aeneid, Carcopino stated that Lavinium really had nothing to do with the story of Aeneas; it was the city of the *Laurentes*

cult was connected with Ficana,<sup>27</sup> a city at the eleventh mile stone of the Via Ostiensis, said to have been destroyed by Ancus Marcius before he founded Ostia.<sup>28</sup>

During the Empire the cult of Vulcan seems to have declined in importance. Though the praetors, aediles, and pontifices are frequently mentioned,<sup>29</sup> we hear of his temple only once.<sup>30</sup> No dedications to him are known, unless we are to identify with Vulcan the *deus patrius*<sup>31</sup> of 3: Deo patrio Cn. Turpilius Cn. f. Turpilianus aedil. et pr. sac. Volk. fac. sigill. Volkani ex voto posuit. Arg(enti) p(ondo) XV. scr(i)p(tula) IX.<sup>32</sup>

and of Latinus. The city founded by Aeneas was Troy, which was situated at the mouth of the Tiber, the site later occupied by Ostia. The cult which was connected with this city must, he thinks, have been, not that of the Penates of Lavinium, but that of Vulcan, as later worshipped at Ostia.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Livy I. 33; Cf. also the title *magister ad Martem Ficanum* in *CIL.* XIV 309. See p. 43.

<sup>28</sup> The view of Paschetto (*op. cit.* pp. 48 ff.) that the importance of Vulcan at Ostia is to be explained by the fact that he was the most important god of Rome at the time of the establishment of the colony can hardly be proved.

<sup>29</sup> There is no evidence to show how these magistrates were elected. Carcopino (*Mél.* 1911, p. 188) believes that the pontifex was chosen by the *pontifex maximus* of Rome.

<sup>30</sup> The frequent mention of Vulcan in the inscriptions of Ostia led to the identification of the large temple on the high *podium* as that of Vulcan—an identification which Paschetto is as yet unwilling to relinquish. It is however to be noted that according to Vitruvius I. 7, 1, the temple of Vulcan should be outside the city walls—*extra murum Veneris Volcani Martis ideo fana conlocari . . . Volcani vi e moenibus religionibus et sacrificiis evocata ab timore incendiorum aedificia videntur liberari*. Vaglieri (*NS.* 1910, p. 13) believes that the temple of Vulcan is to be looked for in the region to the east where the older city probably lay.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. mention of *deus patrius* in inscriptions of Puteoli, Misenum, and Cumae (*CIL.* X 1553, 1881, 3704), which Mommsen refers to the genius of the colony of Puteoli, and Dubois (*op. cit.* p. 40, n. 1) connects with the genius of the colony of Misenum. The genius of the colony of Ostia may be referred to here.

<sup>32</sup> No statues of Vulcan have been found at Ostia. A bas-relief from

## THE CAPITOLINE TRIAD

Ostia, like many other Roman colonies, imitated the mother city by building a temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, and Minerva, the great Etruscan triad who were worshiped on the Capitoline Hill in Rome. The existence of such a temple in Ostia is proved by the inscription (32): Pro salutem . . . Aug. . . A. Ostiensis Asclepiades aeditus Capitoli<sup>1</sup> signum Martis corpori familiae publice libertorum et servorum d. d. This temple was probably identical with the temple of Jupiter which Livy (xxxii. 1, 10) tells us was struck by lightning in 199 B. C. One dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus was found at Ostia. Compare 23. Iovi optumo maximo ex viso aram aedificavit P. Cornelius P. l. Trupo mesor. prec(ario).<sup>2</sup>

The *Capitolium* at Ostia is probably to be identified with the temple whose high *podium* renders it conspicuous among the ruins of the city.<sup>3</sup> This temple has long been popu-

there, now in the Vatican, representing Vulcan, Ceres, and perhaps Neptune, probably had no relation with the cult of Vulcan at Ostia. Cf. Paschetto, *op. cit.* p. 147.

<sup>1</sup> Paschetto's doubts (*op. cit.* pp. 148, 363) as to whether this inscription is originally from Ostia are hardly justified. Dessau notes that the name Ostiensis Asclepiades is mentioned twice in the *album familiae publicae* (no. 255). Asclepiades was a *libertus* of the colony who belonged to the *familia publica libertorum et servorum*, and presented a statue to that body. It is noteworthy that Q. Ostiensis Felix (73), another freedman of the colony, was *aedituus* of the temple of Roma and Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen included this inscription in Vol. 1 of *CIL.* (1109), but he says of it there, *fortasse rudis potius quam antiqua*.

<sup>3</sup> This identification is favored by Nissen, *Rhein. Mus.* 1873, p. 541; Kuhfeldt, *De Capitolis imperii Romani*, 1882, pp. 26-27, Van Buren, *Amer. Jour. of Arch.* 1907, pp. 55-56, Carcopino, *Mél.* 1910, p. 403. (Here Carcopino states his intention to publish a study of this important temple). On the construction of the temple see Borsari, *NS.* 1893, pp. 191-193; Paschetto, *op. cit.* pp. 363-364.

larly known as 'tempio di Giove' or 'tempio di Vulcano.' It has recently been pointed out by Van Buren <sup>4</sup> that the long base at the rear of the temple was apparently intended for three cult statues, and that the high *podium*, found also in the *Capitolia* of Pompeii, Tingad, and Lambaesis, seems to have been employed in places where the *Capitolium* could not be placed on a hill as at Rome. Paschetto <sup>5</sup> notes that the distinctive feature of the *Capitolium* was not the high *podium*, but the division of the *cella* into three parts, of which there is no trace in the temple at Ostia. But the curious form of the *Capitolium* of Lambaesis, the *cella* of which is divided into two parts,<sup>6</sup> is conclusive proof that there was no definitely established form for the *Capitolium*.

#### CASTOR AND POLLUX

The temple of Castor and Pollux was restored by the second P. Lucilius Gamala: 376<sup>13</sup> idem aedem Castoris et Pollucis rest. An hexameter inscription set up by Catius Sabinus records the dedication in front of this temple of a relief or a painting representing games which had been held in honor of Neptune and Castor and Pollux:

1. Litoribus vestris quoniam certamin[a] laetum  
Exhibuisse iuvat, Castor venerandeque Pollux,  
Munere pro tanto faciem certaminis ipsam,  
Magna Iovis proles, vestra pro sede locavi  
Urbanis Catius gaudens me fascibus auctum  
Neptunoque patri ludos fecisse Sabinus.

Catius Sabinus was *consul II ordinarius* in 216 A. D. He celebrated these games as urban praetor (*urbanis fascibus*

<sup>4</sup> *L. c.*

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 363 and n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Gsell, *Monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, I. p. 144.



*auctum*), an office which he is known to have held from *CIL.* VI 864.<sup>1</sup>

There is also literary evidence for this festival of Castor and Pollux at Ostia.<sup>2</sup> In the *Fasti Silvii* for January 27th—and it is significant that this is the dedication day of the famous temple of Castor and Pollux in the Roman Forum<sup>3</sup>—are the words: *ludi Castorum Ostiis quae prima facta colonia est.*<sup>4</sup> The games are not mentioned in any other calendar, though it is probable that they would have been given in the *Fasti Philocali* if the scribe had not neglected to fill in the data for the last days of January.<sup>5</sup> More definite information is supplied by the *Cosmographia Iulii Caesaris*:<sup>6</sup> [*Tiberis*] *in duobus ex uno effectus insulam facit inter portum urbis et Ostiam civitatem, ubi populus Romanus cum urbis praefecto vel consule Castorum celebrandorum causa egreditur sollemnitate iucunda.*<sup>7</sup> We have seen that on one occasion the urban praetor Catus Sabinus was in charge of these games. It is therefore probable that in the *Cosmographia* *consul* is a mistake for *praetor*, and that the games were regularly directed by the urban praetor until the late Empire when the city prefect took charge of them.

But it was not only on the occasion of these annual games that honor was paid to Castor and Pollux at Ostia. Ammi-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dessau on *CIL.* XIV 1; Albert, *Le Culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie*, Paris, 1883, p. 45, wished to identify the large temple on the high podium as that of Castor and Pollux. He thought its size and prominent position in favor of the identification.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription is the only evidence that Neptune shared with Castor and Pollux in this festival.

<sup>3</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, I. 706. Cf. *Fasti Praenestini* for Jan. 27, *CIL.* I<sup>2</sup> p. 232: *ae[dis Castoris et Po]llucis dedica[ta est]*.

<sup>4</sup> *CIL.* I<sup>2</sup> p. 257, 308.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 308.

<sup>6</sup> Often quoted as Aethicus. Riese, *Geographi Latini Minores*, p. 83.

<sup>7</sup> This statement seems to mean that the games were celebrated at Ostia rather than on the island.



anus Marcellinus xix. 10 tells of a sacrifice made in their temple by Tertullus, the city prefect, in the year 359, when storms had prevented the grain-ships from entering the port and Rome was threatened with famine: *dum Tertullus apud Ostia in aede sacrificat Castorum, tranquillitas mare molluit, mutatoque in austrum placidum vento, velificatione plena portum naves ingressae frumentis horrea referserunt*. Such sacrifices were probably not infrequent and seem to have continued until a very late period. Perhaps Pope Gelasius was referring to similar sacrifices within his own memory when he said: *Castores vestri certe a quorum cultu desistere noluitis cur vobis opportuna maria minime prae buerunt?*<sup>8</sup> It is not improbable that it was for such a sacrifice that Claudius went to Ostia in 48. Tacitus says that he went *sacrificii gratia*,<sup>9</sup> while Cassius Dio explains his purpose as *πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν σίτου*.<sup>10</sup> This combined evidence suggests that he may have gone to Ostia in circumstances similar to those of the year 359. However, since it is known that Claudius remained at Ostia for some time on this occasion, it is quite possible that his long stay and his sacrifices were connected with the new port which was then in process of construction.<sup>11</sup>

It is apparent from the evidence quoted that the games in honor of Castor and Pollux at Ostia were not a local celebration, but were under official direction from Rome. Furthermore, it is clear that their temple was at times the scene of sacrifices directed by important Roman dignitaries. Even if the fact that the games were celebrated at the port is not enough to reveal the nature of the worship, the circumstances of the sacrifice described by Ammianus Marcellinus make it clear that Castor and Pollux were here

<sup>8</sup> Thiel, *Epist. Pontif. Rom.* I. p. 603, quoted by Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*,<sup>2</sup> p. 271, n. 1. Gelasius was pope 492-496.

<sup>9</sup> *Ann.* xi. 26. Cf. Furneaux's note *ad loc.*

<sup>10</sup> Cassius Dio, *LX.* 31.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Dessau, *CIL.* xiv p. 9.

worshiped as gods who had power to calm the winds and allay storms at sea. Such a conception of the Dioskuri is familiar in Greek literature where the twin gods often appear as the special protectors of mariners.<sup>12</sup> Similar passages in Roman literature seem to be a reflection of Greek rather than of Roman feeling.<sup>13</sup>

In the cult of Castor and Pollux at Rome where these gods were primarily the patrons of the knights, they were never, so far as we know, worshiped as gods of the sea. Throughout the Empire dedications to them are rare; <sup>14</sup> not once are they addressed as gods who calmed storms or rescued mariners.<sup>15</sup> They are not known to have had a temple in any other port town.<sup>16</sup> It is true that their statues seem to have stood in prominent places in the harbors of An-

<sup>12</sup> Cf. passages cited by K. Jaisle, *Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See bei Griechen und Römern und ihr Fortleben in christlichen Legenden*. Dissertation, Tübingen, 1907, pp. 6 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. passages cited by Jaisle, *op. cit.* pp. 27 ff. One may well hesitate to be as positive as Jaisle in explaining all these passages as representing Greek beliefs. To be sure the invocations of the Dioskuri in the *propempticon* of Horace C. l. 3, in Prop. l. 17, 15 ff. etc. are most probably based upon Greek precedent. On the other hand, when Horace in C. l. 12—a poem permeated with Roman sentiment—dwells upon the services of the sons of Leda as rescuers of the Roman ship of state (cf. Kiessling-Heinze *ad loc.*, Hiemer, *Rheinisches Mus.* 1907, p. 240), it seems probable that he is using a mode of speech that would awaken associations with Roman rather than Greek worship. Nor is there anything unreasonable in supposing that Catullus C. 4 dedicated the pinnacle to Castor and Pollux according to Roman precedent. The worship at Ostia, as we have seen, was a state cult and could hardly have escaped the notice of these poets. Inscriptions may yet be found to prove that the Roman cult of the Dioskuri as sea-gods was not confined to Ostia.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Vaglieri s. v. Castores, Ruggiero.

<sup>15</sup> The Greek hexameter inscription of the third century from Mar-seilles, *IG.* xiv 2461 (quoted by Jaisle, *op. cit.* p. 15), in which the Dioskuri are referred to as πλωτήρων σωτήρες Ἀμυκλαῖοι Θεοί is thoroughly representative of the Greek conception of the gods.

<sup>16</sup> Unimportant dedications were found at Vibo, *CIL.* x 38, and at Chullu in Numidia, *CIL.* viii 8193.

cona<sup>17</sup> and Puteoli.<sup>18</sup> This indicates, however, an imitation of the Greek custom of adorning ports with their statues,<sup>19</sup> rather than a special cult of the Dioskuri at these places.

Therefore the worship of Castor and Pollux at Ostia seems to stand alone in the Roman cult of these gods as the only reflection of one of the most important aspects of their worship among the Greeks. But it is significant that the cult at Ostia was fostered by the Roman state and apparently not by individuals. The merchants and sailors, although they constituted a large part of the population of Ostia, made no dedications to Castor and Pollux, so far as we know. Not one of the numerous inscriptions for the welfare of the emperors is addressed to these deities. Not a priest of Castor and Pollux is known from Ostia.

We have no means of determining when the worship was established at Ostia. The Romans took their cult of Castor and Pollux from Tusculum, where the powers of the gods over the sea were probably disregarded. In the cult as known in Southern Italy, however, particularly at Tarentum, Locri, and Rhegium, the Dioskuri must have been worshiped as gods of the sea. It is quite possible that the worship was introduced at Ostia from Southern Italy when Ostia first became a port of importance, about the third century B. C.

<sup>17</sup> In the view of the harbor of Ancona on the column of Trajan statues of Castor and Pollux stand on an arch. Cf. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule*, Vol. III. p. 18, Taf. LVIII; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pl. LVI.

<sup>18</sup> In the representation of the port of Puteoli on the vase of Odemira the two figures standing on high columns are almost certainly Castor and Pollux. Cf. Dubois, *op. cit.* Fig. 7, pp. 198 f.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Bethe s. v. Dioskuri, Pauly-Wissowa, col. 1096. Similarly a statue of Neptune stood in the port of Claudius, though there is no evidence for the cult of Neptune at Ostia or at Portus.

## LIBER PATER

At Ostia Liber Pater is represented only by a dedication found in the Casino del Sale: *EE.* vii 1195. Sacrum Liber[o Patri?] C. Nasennius Hi[larus] sua [pe]cunia fec[it ob] mer[ita in] Ulpianum f[il e]t ob m̄ memoria[m fi]li sui.

At Portus, however, his cult was very important in the time of Commodus and later. His temple is probably to be identified with a small round Corinthian structure uncovered just to the north of the Casino Torlonia.<sup>1</sup> Nothing remains of it today. The basis for this identification is the inscription (30), found in or near the ruins of the temple: Pro salute imp. M. Aureli Commodi Antonini Aug. Pii Felicis Libero Patri Commodiano sacrum Iunia Marciane ex voto fecit.

Three other dedications to the god were found at Portus: 27. Libero Patr[i . . .] sacrum Chryse . . . 28. Cn. Maelius Epictetus Liberum Patrem in aria sua consecravit. 29. Cn. Maelius Philetus Iun. aram Libero Patri d. d.

Priests and a priestess of the god are known from the inscription from Portus (*IG.* xiv 925): 'Αγνῆς εὐσέμνοιο σπείρης Τραιανησίων οἶδε, ἱερεῖς ἰερείά τε θεοῦ μεγάλου Διωνύσου Ἀ. Σούλλιος Λεωνίδης καὶ (vacat) καὶ Ἰουλία Ῥουφεῖνα ἐπὶ παραστάτῃ Σεκούνδῳ.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lanciani, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1868, p. 181. "Anche il tempio di Bacco è stato rinvenuto nei recenti scavi al N. del casino Torlonia, là dove vedemmo avere esistito i magazzini vinarii. Esso apparve rotondo, peritiero corinzio, rilevato su d'un alto stilobate e risarcito in periodo di massima decadenza. In un frammento dell'architrave curvilineo era scritto a pessimi caratteri: Aur. Rutilius Caecilia[nus]." (*CIL.* xiv 666.) The location of the temple is indicated on Lanciani's plan of the harbor of Trajan, *Mon. dell'Inst.* viii. Pl. XLIX. Cf. Altmann, *Die italischen Rundbauten*, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pert.* i 385; cf. *CIL.* xiv 4. It is not known where this inscription was found, but the fact that it is in the



Another priest of Liber Pater, mentioned in an inscription from Portus, is believed by Carcopino to have been connected with a shrine of the god in Rome. Compare *Mél.* 1909, p. 342. S[il][va]n[o] sa[cr.] P. Luscus R . . . lanus sacerdos Dei Liberis (*sic*) Patris Bonadiensium Silbano sancto cui magnas gratias ago conducto aucupiorum. Carcopino<sup>3</sup> compares with *Bonadienses*, which is an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, the similar forms *Epictetinses*, *Tellurenses*, *Orfienses*, *Caelimontinses*, etc., used in inscriptions of Rome, with reference to the inhabitants of *vici* in the city.<sup>4</sup> *Bonadienses* are, he believes, inhabitants of a *vicus* which took its name from a shrine or statue of Bona Dea within its limits, and Luscus was the priest of a shrine of Liber Pater in that *vicus*. Since the organization of *vici* is attested only by one inscription from Ostia which gives the names of *magistri vicorum* (*EE.* ix 470), and since the cult of Bona Dea is unknown at Ostia and Portus, Carcopino thinks that this *vicus* was more probably at Rome than at Portus. Luscus, he believes, came to Portus because of the hunting,<sup>5</sup> and, after he was successful, recorded his thanks to Silvanus, possibly in the temple of Liber Pater at Portus.

The argument of Carcopino is by no means convincing. There is evidence, not mentioned by him, supporting the natural inference that Portus, as well as Ostia, was organized into *vici*. Two inscriptions, referring to a σπείρα Τραιανησίων (*IG.* xiv 925), *Inb. Traianensium* (4), prove the existence of *Traianenses* in the port. It is significant that *Traianenses* are also mentioned in the same fragmentary inscriptions of the city-prefect Bassus in which *Epictetinses*, *Tellurenses*, etc., are named; they were the inhabitants of a *vicus* of Rome

Villa Albani makes it seem probable that it came from excavations of the Torlonias.

<sup>3</sup> *L. c.* pp. 343-348.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the inscription of the city-prefect Bassus, *CIL.* vi 31893, 31894, 31899.

<sup>5</sup> See discussion of Silvanus.

which was perhaps in the neighborhood of the Baths of Trajan.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, in the inscriptions of Portus, the *Traianenses* were probably the inhabitants of a *vicus* near the port of Trajan. Since *magistri vicorum* are already known from Ostia, the division of the inhabitants of the port into *vici* can hardly be doubted. Moreover the absence of evidence for the cult of Bona Dea at Ostia and Portus need not deter us from believing that a statue or a shrine of that goddess existed there and gave a name to a *vicus*. In Rome, where excavations have been far more complete than in Portus, it is not possible to explain the origin of all the names of *vici*. Therefore it is not improbable that Luscius was a priest of the temple of Liber Pater at Portus, and that the temple of the god was in a *vicus* of the city, the inhabitants of which were called *Bonadienses*.

A religious association known as a *spira Traianensium* was connected with the cult of Liber Pater at Portus, as is evident from the Greek inscription quoted above. The *παπαστάς* there mentioned is perhaps a magistrate of the body. Many such associations, called *spirae* or *thiasi*, were formed during the Empire.<sup>7</sup> At Puteoli there was a *thiasus Placidianus*,<sup>8</sup> with which a *parastata*<sup>9</sup> seems to have been connected. The association at Portus, like one of the *spirae* at Rome, apparently worshiped Diana as well as Liber Pater.<sup>10</sup> Compare 4 (also found in the excavations of the Prince Torlonia): Diana Tobens. Iub.<sup>11</sup> Traianensium.

A statue of Liber Pater stood in a prominent place in the port of Claudius, if the bas-relief of the Museo Torlonia

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, p. 328.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Wissowa s. v. Liber, Roscher.

<sup>8</sup> *CIL*. x 1583-1585; Dubois, *op. cit.* p. 134.

<sup>9</sup> *CIL*. x 1584.

<sup>10</sup> *CIL*. vi 261.

<sup>11</sup> Mommsen (quoted by Dessau) conjectured tub(icen). The connection of the inscription with the *spira* does not seem absolutely certain.

faithfully pictures that harbor. The bas-relief shows, on the right, a high pedestal upon which stands a nude statue of Dionysus of a familiar Hellenistic type.<sup>12</sup> The god is crowned with the vine and holds the *thyrsus* and a wine vessel. Beside him is a panther. Another Dionysus of exactly the same type is represented on the prow of the larger boat in the foreground of the bas-relief, while a head of the same god adorns the prow of the smaller boat. Guglielmotti, explaining the enigmatical letters on the sail of the larger boat as V(otum) L(ibero) (2033), believed that the bas-relief was a dedication to Liber Pater. The suggestion, though tempting, lacks support.

A statue of Liber was destroyed in Portus in the sixteenth century. According to Volpi (*Vetus Latium*, xi. c. 2): hanc statuam Bessarion Trapezuntius cardinalis Nicaenus, cum sui iuris fecisset, profani cultus impietatem detestatus in mare demergi iussit.

The cult of Liber Pater was evidently very prominent at Portus in the time of Commodus, for in the *pro salute* inscription to that emperor Liber Pater bears the epithet *Commodianus* which is given elsewhere only to the emperor's favorite Hercules.<sup>13</sup> We may infer from the statue figured on the bas-relief of the Museo Torlonia, which dates from the time of the Severi, that the cult remained important during the years following the reign of Commodus. Indeed we should expect the cult of Liber Pater to receive special support from Septimius Severus who built at Rome a great temple to Hercules and Liber,<sup>14</sup> the gods of his native Leptis,

<sup>12</sup> Carcopino, *l. c.* p. 349, disregarding the evidence for the identification of the temple of Liber discussed above, sees in the position of the statue of the god in the bas-relief an indication of the location of his temple. The statue seems to be represented as standing on the east mole of the Claudian harbor which, it is now agreed, passed over the summit of Monte Giulio. Cf. Carcopino, *NS.* 1907, p. 736. The dedication to Silvanus by Luscius was found on Monte Giulio.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. s. v. Commodus, Ruggiero.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Cassius Dio, LXXVI. 16, 3.

and had representations of them with the inscriptions *Dis Auspicibus*, *Dis Patriis*, struck on his coins.<sup>15</sup>

Wissowa<sup>16</sup> has shown that Liber as worshiped at Portus was probably an orgiastic Oriental god who appropriated the name of the established Roman deity. The cult of this god was prominent also at Rome and Puteoli. With it were associated *spirae* and *thiasi* which celebrated mysteries of the god, perhaps not unlike those suppressed in 186 B. C. The importance of this cult in Roman ports and the use of Greek in inscriptions of these *spirae* are further evidence for the foreign origin of the worship.

#### VENUS, FORTUNA, CERES, SPES

The first P. Lucilius Gamala, who, as we have seen, restored (*restituit*) the temple of Vulcan, also built (*constituit*) temples of Venus, Fortuna, Ceres, and Spes.<sup>1</sup> The temple of Venus was restored by the second Gamala (the word *restituit* is used). There is very little other evidence for these four cults from Ostia—none at all, indeed, for that of Spes.

Other dedications to Fortuna from Ostia seem to have no connection with the temple of the goddess. She is grouped with a number of other deities, among them, *Invictus deus Sol*, in a dedication discovered recently.<sup>2</sup> From Portus comes the inscription (6): *Fortunae domesticae sanctae*

<sup>15</sup> Cf. R. Peter s. v. Hercules, Roscher, I. col. 2992-2993; Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*,<sup>2</sup> Septimius Severus, 112-122.

<sup>16</sup> *L. c.* Cf. also *Religion und Kultus*,<sup>2</sup> p. 303; Dubois, *op. cit.* p. 137; *Mél.* 1902, p. 27. Dubois attempts to date the revival of these Dionysiac mysteries at Portus from the term *Traianenses*, which he thinks indicates that the inscriptions are of the time of Trajan.

<sup>1</sup> 375, 376. See p. 14, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *EE.* IX. 440. Quoted p. 92.



ara pro salute et reditu L. Septimi Severi Pertinacis Aug. [et D. Clodi] Septi[mi Albini Caesaris] L. Valerius Frontinus o coh. II. vigil. sua pecunia posuit cum suis etc. In the latrina of the barracks of the *vigiles* a small shrine of Fortuna Sancta was discovered. On a marble *cippus* which was affixed to the pavement of the room was the inscription (NS. 1911, p. 209): C. Valerius Myron b(ene)f(iciarius) pr(aefecti) coh(ortis) III. vig(illum) Fortunae Sanctae v. s. l. a. Here too on an *aedicula* which was affixed to the wall was found the inscription (*ibid.* p. 210), Fortunae sanct. Vaglieri has noted that this discovery proves that a passage in Clement of Alexandria is to be taken literally. (*Protrept.* iv. 51).<sup>3</sup>

Ceres, who was naturally looked to as the protectress of the grain industry, was worshiped by several of the *collegia*. The measurers of grain were called *mensores frumentarii Cereris Aug.* (409). *Quinquennales* of three related colleges dedicated a marble well-head to Ceres and the Nymphs: 2. Monitu sanctissimae Cereris et Nympharum hic puteus factus omni sumptu. C. Caecili Onesimi patro. et qq. p(er)p(etui) c(orporis) m(ensorum) adiutor. et L. Hortensi Galli qq. nauticariorum et N. Treboni Eutychetis qq. II. acceptorum. (consular date 197 A. D.). Lanciani<sup>4</sup> suggested that, since the Forum seems to have been surrounded with the offices of corporations devoted to the grain industry, the temple in the centre of the Forum may have

<sup>3</sup> Three statues of Fortuna have been found at Ostia. One, discovered by Fagan near the Torre Bovacciana, is now in the Vatican. Cf. Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.* Vol. I. p. 101, Braccio Nuovo 86. For the second cf. NS. 1888, p. 739 and Paschetto, *op. cit.* p. 153, Fig. 26. Another statue is cited p. 152. On one of the walls in the so-called headquarters of *mensores* near the large temple is a small *aedicula* in which there is a representation of Fortuna, who was doubtless looked to as the protectress of the grain merchants. Cf. Paschetto, *op. cit.* p. 316, Fig. 77; Carcopino, *Mél.* 1910, p. 426.

<sup>4</sup> NS. 1881, p. 114. Excavations now in progress at this temple may settle its identity.

been that of Ceres. There seems, however, little ground for the identification.<sup>5</sup>

Inscriptions record the dedication of a statue of Venus to Isis and Bubastis (21 add.), and the erection of a statue of the goddess on the sarcophagus of a young girl, Arria Maximina (610). Several statues of Venus have been found at Ostia, among which may be mentioned the beautiful Townley Venus of the British Museum.<sup>6</sup>

But there is evidence for the identification of the temple of Venus which the first Gamala *constituit* and the second *restituit*. A marble altar bearing the inscription (4127) *Veneri sacrum* was found in a small temple near the theatre. This temple is on the same base with three other temples of almost equal size.<sup>7</sup> Van Buren<sup>8</sup> and, more recently, Carcopino<sup>9</sup> have suggested that these three shrines are to be identified as those of Fortuna, Ceres, and Spes which are mentioned in the same terms as the temple of Venus in the inscription of the first P. Lucilius Gamala. Van Buren, who follows Mommsen in believing that 375 and 376 refer to one man who lived in the time of Hadrian, thinks that *constituit* of 375 is equivalent to *restituit* of 376. From the style of the construction of the temples he comes to the conclusion that they were built in the first century B. C. and restored in the second century after Christ. Carcopino, who dates the Gamala of 375 in the first century after Christ and the Gamala of 376 in the second century, would distinguish between *constituit* and *restituit* in the two inscriptions; he believes that the temples were built by one man and restored by the other. To his mind the

<sup>5</sup> *CIL*. xiv 4146 can hardly be related to the cult of Ceres.

<sup>6</sup> Found by Gavin Hamilton in 1775. Cf. *Jour. of Hellenic Studies*, xxi. p. 316; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in British Museum*, Vol. III. no. 1574.

<sup>7</sup> *NS*. 1886, pp. 127 and 164; *Röm. Mitth.* i. p. 194.

<sup>8</sup> *Amer. Jour. of Arch.* 1907, pp. 55-56.

<sup>9</sup> *Mél.* 1911, pp. 224-230.

style of the construction is in accord with the view that the temples were built in the time of Augustus and restored under Hadrian. He notes that the temples adjoined a private house, which, he suggests, may have belonged to Gamala. Since the publication of Carcopino's article, excavations have laid bare a tufa foundation of republican date under these temples.<sup>10</sup> This discovery supports Van Buren's dating rather than Carcopino's. Carcopino's suggestion, however, that the house may have belonged to Gamala is favored by a fragmentary inscription found behind the temples: Paren . . . Lucil[i]us G[ama]la filius . . . f.

This identification does not seem improbable. The cults of Venus, Fortuna, Ceres, and Spes were not prominent in the colony, and the four temples could not have been dedicated to any of the more important gods of Ostia. Yet if these shrines are referred to in 375, it is strange that the list of temples is interrupted by the statement that Gamala *fecit pondera ad marcellum*. The excavations at the temples are being continued, and further evidence for their identification may be forthcoming.

#### PATER TIBERINUS

It is fitting that there should have been a shrine of Father Tiber at the river's mouth where the god appeared to Aeneas and foretold the greatness of Rome.<sup>1</sup> The sanctuary is mentioned in the inscription of the second Gamala: 376, ll. 14-17. *Idem curator pecuniae publicae exigendae et attribuendae in comitiis factus cellam Patri Tiberino restituit*. Gamala restored this shrine not at his own expense, but

<sup>10</sup> *NS.* 1911, pp. 198-199. Carcopino published some additional notes regarding these discoveries in *Mél.* 1911, p. 368.

<sup>1</sup> *Act.* VIII. ll. 31 ff. Cf. Carcopino, *Mél.* 1911, p. 155; Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*,<sup>2</sup> p. 225.

from the public moneys. The god is represented in relief on the altar of Silvanus from Ostia, which may have been intended originally as a dedication to Pater Tiberinus.<sup>2</sup> On the coins of Nero which represent the harbor of Claudius a statue of the god stands at the point where the canal flows into the harbor.<sup>3</sup>

#### GENIUS COLONIAE OSTIENSIIUM

Two dedications to the genius of the colony are known from Ostia: 8. Genio Coloniae Ostiensium M. Cornelius Epagathus curat. Augustal. etc. 9. [Ge]nio [col.] Ostiensis [sa]crum [Ti]motheus . . . domus . . . posuit. A priest of the cult was a Roman knight: 373. L. Licinio L. fil. Pal. Herodi equit. Rom. decuriali decuriae viatoriae equestris cos. decurioni quinquennali duumviro sacerdoti geni col. flam. Rom. et Aug. curat. oper. pub[li.] quaestori aer. aedili flam. divi Severi sodali Arulensi praet. prim. sac. Volk. faciu. ordo Augustal. optimo civi ob merita. Another Roman knight, mentioned in the fragmentary inscription *EE. VII* 1227, was probably also a priest of the genius. Compare *Il.* 6 ff. Eutyche[ti] Iun. eq. R. [sac. gen.?<sup>1</sup>] col. Ost. flam. divi Ma[rci] . . . sodal. A[rul] etc.

The genius of the colony is perhaps to be recognized in the male figure which is represented standing on a pedestal in the centre of the bas-relief of the Musco Torlonia.<sup>2</sup> This

<sup>2</sup> See discussion of Silvanus.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cohen, Nero 33-38; Van Buren, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1911, p. 194, n. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Lanciani, who first published this inscription, and Dessau do not fill out this line. Though it is impossible to tell how many letters are missing, there are certainly enough to make this reading possible. Moreover there seems to be a marked similarity in the order of the priesthoods in this inscription and in that of Herodes.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 11. There have been various interpretations of this figure and of the other male figure on a pedestal to the extreme left of the



figure, which is clad in an *himation* and holds a wreath and a *cornucopia*, is very similar to that on the coins of P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus,<sup>3</sup> representing the Genius of the Roman people crowning the goddess Roma.

#### HERCULES

Hercules is represented by two inscriptions from Ostia. In one of these he is invoked with Silvanus (17). The other inscription, [Her]c. August., is on a relief which represents a head of Hercules.<sup>1</sup> It was unearthed between the Via della Fontana and the theatre in the excavations of 1909.

At Portus the cult of Hercules may have been more important, for a *pro salute* inscription to Septimius Severus whose name is in an erasure, probably of that of Commodus, was discovered there. Compare 16: Pro [salute?] imp. . . . Caes. Aug. Nostri L. Septimi Severi Pertinacis Herculi numini sancto cum basi marmorata acceptatoribus et terraris C. Sentius Portesis s. p. d. d. Another dedication was made by a soldier: 13. . . . Herculi [C]assius Ligus trib. coh. IIII. vigil. d. d. curam agentib[us] Valerio Frontin[o] o eo]h. II. vigil. et Vario Fuficiano . . . . rio Leone Aemilio Catullino . . o agentibus.

According to Fea, a temple which was identified as that of Hercules, apparently by the discovery of a fragmentary

bas-relief. This second figure is clad in a toga and also holds a wreath and a *cornucopia*. On his head is a crown which is a small model of the *pharus* represented in the relief. Henzen suggests that the figure in the tunic may represent the genius of the port, and the other one Bonus Eventus (cf. *Bull. dell'Inst.* 1864, p. 221), and Guglielmotti proposes the Ammon and the Genius Abundantiae (*op. cit.* p. 16). The figure in the tunic may very well be the genius of the port.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République romaine*, I. p. 401.

<sup>1</sup> *NS.* 1910, p. 100, Fig. 7.

statue of the god in its ruins, was unearthed in Portus in 1794.<sup>2</sup> It was covered up, but was excavated a second time in 1867.<sup>3</sup> Since, however, the inscriptions furnish no proof of the existence of a temple of Hercules, the identification seems very doubtful.<sup>4</sup>

## SILVANUS

At Ostia as elsewhere there was no public temple of Silvanus, but small private shrines in his honor were numerous. Altars were dedicated to him by men from the lower classes who were often members of the *familia Caesaris*.<sup>1</sup> Compare 49 (Portus). Silvano sac. T. Flavius Aug. lib. Primigenius tabularius adiutor. 52. Silvano sanc. sac. Dorotheus Aug. lib. proc. massae Marian. s. d. d. 50. Silvano s[ac(rum)] Successus Agathemer[i] imp. T. Cae-

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fea, *Viaggio ad Ostia*, p. 39. "Gli avanzi d'un tempio d'Ercole furono trovati nel sudetto anno 1794, a piccola distanza dall'orlo del porto, colla statua di lui frantumata, e molti residui di cornici, e altri membri di architettura." Cf. Nibby, *Contorni di Roma*, II. p. 656.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lanciani, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1868, p. 172. "Anche il tempio di Ercole chiuso nel perimetro del palazzo fu nuovamente sterrato nel passato marzo, ritraendone rocchi di colonne, capitelli di fino intaglio, e tre basi di m. 0, 90 di diametro." The temple is not indicated on Lanciani's plan of the harbor, *Mon. dell'Inst.* VIII. Tav. XLIX.

<sup>4</sup> Four groups, representing Hercules with the Thracian Diomedes, with the Erymanthian boar, with Geryon, and with Cerberus, discovered in the excavations of Gavin Hamilton at Ostia, are now in the Sala degli animali of the Vatican. Cf. Amelung, *Sc. d. Vat. Mus.* II. Sala degli animali, nos. 137, 141, 208, 213, Taf. 34. Another group representing Hercules and Telephus is in the Museo Torlonia (no. 388). Cf. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, II. p. 233. A fragmentary statue of the god is in the Lateran. Cf. Benndorf and Schoene, *Die antiken Bildwerke des Lateran. Museums*, No. 582. However, the frequency of representations of Hercules in Roman art makes it impossible to attach any special religious significance to these finds.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. Peter s. v. Silvanus, Roscher, col. 863.

saris Aug. ser. [p]aterni vicarius [v]otum posuit. Perhaps the same Agathemerus made the dedication (48): Sil[vano] sac[rum] Agat[hemerus?] fe[icit?]. A freedman of a freedman of the imperial household dedicated to Silvanus the beautiful altar in the National Museum in Rome, which was found behind the stage of the theatre at Ostia.<sup>2</sup> On the narrow upper projection of the front face of the altar is the inscription (51): [A]ram sac[omari ad Anno?] nam Aug. genio [collegii?] sacomar; lower down on this face: P. Aelius Trophimi Aug. l. proc. prov. Cretae lib. Syneros et Trophimus et Aelianus fili; on the lower projection: decurionum decreto. The dedication, votum Silvano, is on the narrow upper projection of the left face of the altar; on the right face is the consular date 124. Excellent reliefs representing Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf, shepherds and Pater Tiberinus, Mars and Venus, winged genii, etc., adorn the four sides of the altar. Since these reliefs have nothing to do with Silvanus, and since the inscriptions obviously occupy spaces which are not suited to them,<sup>3</sup> it seems probable that the altar was originally intended as a dedication to some other god, perhaps to Mars or to Pater Tiberinus, who, as we know, had a shrine at Ostia. The words *decurionum decreto* suggest that the altar probably stood in some very prominent place.<sup>4</sup>

Silvanus is grouped with other gods in dedications from Ostia. An altar to Hercules and Silvanus, who are often invoked together elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> was found there: 17. Herculi

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *EE*. ix p. 334. Lanciani, *NS*. 1881, pp. 111 ff.; Lucas, *Röm. Mitth.* 1899, p. 220; Ducati, *Mel.* 1906, pp. 483-512; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, pp. 241-243, Pl. 73, 74.

<sup>3</sup> Ducati, *l. c.*, thinks that all the inscriptions were cut at the time that the altar was made except the one to Silvanus which was added later.

<sup>4</sup> Borsari, *Ostia e il Porto di Roma antica*, Rome, 1904, p. 12, thinks that the altar may have stood in the temple in the Forum which he identifies as the temple of Roma and Augustus.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Peter, *l. c.* col. 853.

et Silvano sa[c.] Ti. Claudius Diadumenus cellarius fe[c.] Unique is the combination of gods in 20 (Ostia). Pro salute et reditu imp. Antonini Aug. Faustinae Aug. liberorumque eorum aram sanctae Isdi numini Sarapis sancto Silvano Larib. C. Pomponius Turpilianus proc. ad oleum in Galbae Ostiae portus utriusque d. d.<sup>6</sup>

In one dedication recently found at Portus the god is addressed in his capacity of special guardian of hunters.<sup>7</sup>

A fragmentary dedication to Silvanus was discovered

<sup>6</sup> Von Domazewski (*Silvanus auf lateinischen Inschriften*, *Philol.* 1902, p. 7 = *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, 1909, pp. 65 f.) cites these two inscriptions with nine others to Silvanus which were set up by men connected with granaries or other buildings. He thinks that just as Silvanus was regarded as *tutor finium* in the country, so when his cult found its way into the cities:—"Hier wird er zum Beschützer jener Räume, deren unbefugtes Betreten oder Verlassen er hindern soll." To us the evidence seems far from convincing, since in seven of the eleven cases cited by von Domazewski Silvanus is united with other gods. At any rate the *pro salute* inscription from Ostia, in which Silvanus is grouped with Isis, Sarapis, and the Lares, cannot be used as evidence that Silvanus was regarded by the *procurator ad oleum in Galbae* (sc. *horreis*) as the special protector of the granaries of which he was in charge. The dedication comes naturally from a member of the civil service closely connected with the imperial administration. Cf. Peter, *l. c.* col. 863-864.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in discussion of Liber Pater. Peter, *l. c.* col. 843, in his discussion of Silvanus as god of hunters overlooks this inscription. The other dedications known seem to have been made by hunters of wild animals. Carcopino, *Mél.* 1909, pp. 346 f. explains the words *conducto aucupiorum* of this inscription as 'pour la ferme des aucupia'; that is, P. Luscius had for a certain period the right to farm out bird-hunting in a district which probably included Portus, and, having been successful in his venture, he expressed his gratitude to Silvanus. The fact that the dedication is made by a priest of Liber Pater is not convincing evidence for the assumption of Carcopino that the altar stood in the temple of Liber Pater at Portus; moreover, Carcopino's statement that dedications to Silvanus from Ostia stood in the temple of Isis and in the *Metroum* will not bear close examination. No. 20 may have stood in the temple of Isis, but there is no proof that it did, and No. 53 comes not from the *Metroum* but from the *schola* of the *dendrophori*.



recently in one of the tombs. Compare *NS.* 1910, p. 23. *Silva ... sac ... s ...*

There was a statue of *Silvanus* among the dedications to the *dendrophori* of Ostia. Compare 53. C. Atilius Bassi sacerdotis lib. Felix apparator M. d. m. signum Silvani dendrophoris Ostiensibus d. d. *Silvanus*, who was regularly represented as holding a pine-branch in his hand, is probably to be regarded as the prototype of the *dendrophori* who carried the sacred pine.<sup>8</sup> It is significant that in a dedication from Rome made by a *quinquennalis perpetuus* to the *dendrophori Magnae Matris* *Silvanus* is addressed with the epithet *dendrophorus*.<sup>9</sup>

In a niche of the vestibule of the *Mithreum* near the baths a mosaic representation of *Silvanus* was discovered.<sup>10</sup> The god is represented standing, clad in a short tunic, with the skin of an animal over his arm. He is bearded and has long hair; a blue-green nimbus encircles his head. In his left hand he holds a branch, in his right a hatchet. On either side of him are trees; on the left there is a dog and on the right an altar. Another mosaic figure, first interpreted as

<sup>8</sup> This is the explanation of the connection of *Silvanus* with the *dendrophori* which was proposed by C. L. Visconti, *Bull. com.* 1890, pp. 21-23. Domazewski, *Philol.* 1902, p. 15, *Ann.* 146 (= *Abhandlungen*, p. 74, *Ann.* 11), and Peter, *l. c.* col. 866, accept it. But Cumont s. v. *Dendrophorus*, Pauly-Wissowa and Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles*, I. pp. 251 f., are of the opinion that the *dendrophori* worshiped *Silvanus* in the first place and became attached to the cult of *Magna Mater* at a later period. Aurigemma, s. v. *dendrophori*, Ruggiero, p. 1678, thinks that the *dendrophori* were attached to both cults, and makes no suggestion as to which they worshiped first.

<sup>9</sup> *CIL.* VI 641, cf. 642.

<sup>10</sup> Now in the Lateran Museum. Cf. C. L. Visconti, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1864, pp. 174 f. Tav. d'Agg. L. M., n. 3; F. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, II. p. 241, fig. 73; *The Mysteries of Mithra*, Fig. 17; Benndorf and Schoene, *Die antiken Bildwerke des Lateran. Mus.* n. 551; Peter, *l. c.* col. 837; Nogara, *I Mosaici dei Palazzi Vaticano e Laterano*, 1910, Pl. LXVIII.

Saturn, but which is more probably Silvanus, is found in the pavement of the *Mithreum* near the *Metroum*.<sup>11</sup> Here the god holds a scythe in his left hand and a spade in his right. The scythe is frequently an attribute of this god, and, though no representation of him with a spade is known, there is enough variety in his attributes to make it seem quite possible that he might sometimes have been portrayed with an emblem so well suited to his agricultural character.<sup>12</sup> Silvanus was especially honored by devotees of Mithras,<sup>13</sup> in whose cult he was identified with Drvâspa.<sup>14</sup>

A *collegium Silvani* existed at Ostia. Cf. 309. Dis manibus L. Calpurnius Chius sevir Aug. et quinquennalis — idem quinquennal. collegi Silvani Aug. maioris quod est Hilarionis functus sacomari, etc. This inscription together with the inscription on the altar of Silvanus in the National Museum discussed above makes it seem probable that the *Collegium Silvani* may have been connected with the *sacomarium* or public weighing place.<sup>15</sup>

#### GODS OF COLLEGIA

In addition to the religious *collegia* discussed elsewhere—the *Augustales*, the *dendrophori* and *cannophori*, the colle-

<sup>11</sup> Visconti, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1868, pp. 402 ff.; Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, II. n. 295, pp. 414-418.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. list of representations of Silvanus given by Peter, *l. c.* cols. 825-842. This mosaic is not mentioned.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, I. pp. 147-148.

<sup>14</sup> A painting representing Silvanus is said by P. H. Visconti (quoted by De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.* 1870, p. 78; 1876, p. 40, n. 1) to have been found in the excavations of 1867-1870 at the entrance to a house in Ostia. Dessau on 54 suggests that the report may be a mistake, since neither the younger Visconti nor Lanciani knew anything of the painting.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Dessau's note on 309; von Domazewski, *op. cit.* p. 8 = p. 66.

*gium Silvani Aug.* and the *mensores frumentarii Cereris Aug.* may be mentioned the *cultores Iovis Tutoris* (?). Compare 25. Iovi tutori Q. Veturius Secundus A. Libius Hilarianus quaglator et curator donu daeder. cultoribus.<sup>1</sup> 430 mentions a *quinquennalis* of the *collegium geni fori vinarii*.

The venders of oakum were devoted to the cult of Minerva: 44. Numini evidentissimo Minervae Aug. sacrum conservatrici et antistiti splendidissimi corporis stuppatorum ornatam omni cultu d. d. etc.

Two dedications to genii of *collegia* come from Ostia. One of them was on the base of a statue of the genius, clad in a toga and holding a *cornucopia*: 10. Genio corporis pell. Ost. qui[bus ex. s. e. coire licet?] M. Aurel. Lamprocles Aug. lib. pat.... s. p. d. d. d. The other is a *pro salute* inscription: *EE. ix* 434. Pro salute imp. Severi et Antonini Augg. et Getae nobilissimi Caes. et Iuliae Aug. m. Augg. et castr. genio saccariorum salarior. totius urbis camp. sal. Rom. Restitutianus etc.<sup>2</sup>

#### MINOR CULTS

**Mars.** Statues of Mars were presented to the *dendrophori* (33), to the *familia publica* (32), and to Isis (*EE. vii* 1194). Fea reports the discovery at Ostia of a statue of Mars on which was the inscription (31), Marti.<sup>1</sup> The statue has disappeared. A dedication to Ma. Victori Patri, made by worshippers of Mithras, perhaps refers to a god of the Persian Pantheon who was identified with Mars (*NS. 1910*, pp. 186 f.).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This inscription was found about five miles from Ostia, but probably came originally from there.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. also 51. --- genio ..... sacomar.

<sup>1</sup>*Viaggio ad Ostia*, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted p. 91.

Among the titles of L. Calpurnius Chius, a prominent citizen of Ostia (309), is *magister ad Martem Ficanum*. No satisfactory explanation of the title has been found. Borghesi suggested that it might be connected with the ancient Latin city Ficana which was situated on the eleventh milestone of the Via Ostiensis and was supposedly destroyed by Ancus Marcius.<sup>3</sup> A good suggestion, which does not, however, account for the meaning of *Ficanus*, is that of Gatti<sup>4</sup>—that *ad Martem Ficanum* is the name of a *vicus* of which Chius was *magister*.<sup>5</sup>

**Neptune.** Strange to say, there is no evidence for a temple of Neptune at Ostia. The god is mentioned only in the inscription of Catus Sabinus from which it appears that he shared with Castor and Pollux the honor of the national games.<sup>6</sup> His statue appears, however, on the Pharus on coins representing the port of Claudius,<sup>7</sup> and in a prominent place in the bas-reliefs of that harbor in the Museo Torlonia. The well-known Poseidon of the Lateran was discovered at Portus.<sup>8</sup> But these statues do not suffice to prove the existence of a cult of Neptune at Portus.

**Apollo.** A small statue of the god was recently found at Ostia. On its base was the inscription (*NS.* 1910, p. 23), Varenus Augg. lib. adiut. tabul. f. deo Apollini Vip.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Dessau on 309. Paschetto seems to think Borghesi's suggestion probable, cf. *op. cit.* p. 55. This explanation is certainly more satisfactory than that of Roscher (s. v. Mars, col. 2428), who thinks that the epithet *ficanus* may imply that the fig tree was sacred to Mars.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull. com.* 1892, p. 372. Gatti makes this suggestion in publishing the inscription *EE.* IX 470, which proves the existence of *magistri vicorum* at Ostia.

<sup>5</sup> The famous altar of the National Museum which is dedicated to Silvanus may have been intended originally as a dedication to Mars, to whom some of the reliefs relate. See discussion of Silvanus.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 1 and see discussion of Castor and Pollux.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Cohen, *Médailles impériales*, I. Nero 33-41.

<sup>8</sup> The statue was found in the remains of a large building, supposed to be Baths. Cf. Benndorf and Schoene, *Die antiken Bildwerke des Lateran. Museums*, p. 182, no. 287.



**Diana** seems to have been worshiped by the *spira Traianensium*, which was devoted primarily to the cult of Liber Pater (4).

**Nymphs.** Two dedications to the Nymphs come from Ostia: 46a. *Nymphis divinis sacravit D. Hostius Heraclida. EE. ix 438.* Numfabus (*sic*) Titus Aminnericus donum fecit. A marble well-head was dedicated to Ceres and the Nymphs—a combination not found elsewhere (2).

**Deified Abstractions.** A statue of Fides was presented, apparently, to the *collegium fabrum tignuariorum*: 5. P. Cornelius Thallus P. Corneli Architecti fil. mag. quinq. coll. fabr. tignar. lustrum XXVII. nomine P. Corneli Architecti ani fil. sui allecti in ordinem decurion. Fidei signum dono dedit. *Tutela* is one of the deities addressed in a dedication<sup>9</sup> found at Ostia.<sup>10</sup>

**Dedications to Genii:** 7. Genio kastrorum peregrinor. Optatianus et Pudens frumm. fratres ministerio . . . . . vota solverunt. 11. Genio loci. On a travertine block recently found is the inscription (*NS.* 1910, p. 31), G(enio) p(opuli) R(omani) f(eliciter).<sup>11</sup>

**Domina.** It is not known what goddess is addressed in the inscription (74): Thiasus Acili Glabrior. inperatu aram fecit dominae.<sup>12</sup>

**Sodalis Arulensis.** Four inscriptions of Ostia mention this priesthood, which is not known elsewhere: 341. Memoriae M. Corneli M. f. Pal. Valeriani Epagathiani eq. [R.] decurioni splendidissimae coloniae Os[tiensis] flamine praetori II. sacra Volkani [fac. ei]demque sodale Arulen[si] etc. 373. L. Licinio L. fil. Pal. Herodi equit. Rom. decu-

<sup>9</sup> *EE.* ix 440. Quoted p. 92.

<sup>10</sup> Under the cult of the emperors will be discussed dedications to Victoria Augustor(um), Salus Caesaris Aug. and a possible reference to Annona Aug.

<sup>11</sup> For other cases of this inscription see Cesano in Ruggiero s. v. genius, p. 468.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Peter s. v. Domina, Roscher.

riali decuriae viatoriae equestris cos. decurioni quinquennali duumviro sacerdoti geni col. flam. Rom. et Aug. curat. oper. publ. quaestori aer. aedili flam. divi Severi sodali Arulensi praet. prim. sac. Volk. faciu. ordo Augustal. optimo civi ob merita. 432. [D.] m. [Q. Vetu]rio Firmio [Felici] Socrati [qq. c. p. d]ecurioni [praet. pr]imo sac. [Volk. fa]ciundis [sodali A]rulesium vix. etc. *EE.* VII 1227, ll. 6 ff. Eutyche[ti] Iun. Eq. R. [sac. gen.?] col. Ost. flam. divi Ma[rci . . . ] sodal. A[rul] etc. Three of these *sodales* were Roman Knights. The origin and duties of the priesthood are not known. Carcopino<sup>13</sup> compares the title *sodalis Cabensis*, which is probably a survival of a city Cabe or Cabum which disappeared,<sup>14</sup> and suggests that *sodalis Arulensis* may be evidence for the existence of a city Arula, "une Ostie pre Ostienne." He thinks it may be significant that all of these *sodales* except one are praetors of Vulcan.

<sup>13</sup> *Mél.* 1911, p. 189, n. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Wissowa s. v. *Cabenses sacerdotes*, Pauly-Wissowa.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CULT OF THE EMPERORS

Contact with the Orient, where worship of the emperors had its origin, was probably responsible for the early introduction of the imperial cult at Ostia and at Puteoli.<sup>1</sup> The latter city, Rome's chief port at the beginning of the Empire, had a temple of Augustus built during the lifetime of the first emperor. Ostia, too, though far less important at that time, had a temple of Roma and Augustus which was established before the death of Augustus.<sup>2</sup> This temple must

<sup>1</sup> Dubois, *op. cit.* p. 145. Dubois goes too far when he says of the imperial cult at Puteoli, "L'extension qu'il prit très vite, à cause du caractère oriental de la ville, est confirmée par les nationalités des Augustales . . . presque tous portent des noms grecs et orientaux." The *Augustales* were usually freedmen, and Greek and Oriental names are very common among them. It is doubtful whether there are any more such names at Puteoli than elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hubert Heinen, *Zur Begründung des römischen Kaiserkultes*, *Klio*, 1911, pp. 129 ff. especially the list of "Priester, Altäre und Tempel des lebenden Augustus in Italien," p. 175. This list includes places where the cult of Augustus alone or the cult of the emperor with the goddess Roma is known to have existed, and Heinen does not distinguish between the two. Inscriptions show that in the lifetime of Augustus Roma and Augustus were worshiped together in Cisalpine Gaul at Pola, Verona, and Tridentum (not mentioned by Heinen, cf. *CIL*, v 5036, cf. also *CIL*, v 5511 sacerdos Romae et Augusti from an unknown place); in Italy proper this cult is known only at Ostia, Tarracina, Luna, and Ulubrae (omitted by Heinen, cf. *CIL*, x 6485 which records the restoration of the temple of Roma and Augustus there in 132 A. D.). It is noteworthy that three of these places are ports, where the worship was probably introduced directly from the Orient. A number of the cities in which the cult of Augustus alone was known were also ports—Cumae, Puteoli, Pompeii, Neapolis, Pisae. The lists of places given by Franz Richter s. v. Roma, Roscher, col. 144-145 where there were *flamines* of Roma and Augustus, Roma and divus Augustus, etc. are unreliable. Cf. also W. S. Ferguson, *Legalized Absolutism en route from Greece to Rome*, *Am. Hist. Review*, Vol. XVIII, 1912, pp. 28 ff.

have been of considerable size, for the *decuriones* sometimes held their sessions there.<sup>3</sup> *Flamines*<sup>4</sup> were in charge of the worship, and an *aedilius* (73), who seems to have been a freedman of the colony, is mentioned in an inscription. Borsari<sup>5</sup> proposes to identify the temple in the Forum, commonly known as that of Ceres,<sup>6</sup> as the temple of Roma and Augustus. Its size and prominent position support the suggestion, but the date of its construction can hardly be placed before the second century. If it were the temple of Roma and Augustus, we should be forced to suppose that it was destroyed at some time and completely rebuilt, an assumption for which there is, as yet, no evidence.<sup>7</sup>

Livia must have had a shrine at Ostia, for a *flaminica divae Aug(ustae)* is known (399, compare 455). There is evidence for *flamines* of the *divi* Vespasian (292, 298, *NS.* 1910, p. 107), Titus (400, 4142), Hadrian (390, 391, 353, *NS.* 1910, p. 13), Marcus Aurelius (*EE.* vii 1227), and Septimius Severus (373). *Flamen*<sup>8</sup> alone, which occurs three times in the inscriptions of Ostia, is probably the same as *flamen divorum*, which occurs once (444). These *flamines* were among the most important men of the colony,

<sup>3</sup> See 353 (inscription of Fabius Hermogenes). Cf. a very similar inscription of the same man found recently, *NS.* 1910, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> 373, 400, 4142; a *flamen perpetuus* is recorded in an inscription published recently, *Bull. com.* 1910, p. 332.

<sup>5</sup> *Ostia e il Porto di Roma antica*, 1904, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Lanciani, *NS.* 1881, p. 114. Excavations now in progress in the vicinity of this temple may decide its identity, as well as the question of whether it is situated in the main Forum of the city.

<sup>7</sup> There is no evidence for the independent worship of Roma at Ostia. Cf., however, the inscription given by Vaglieri, *NS.* 1910, pp. 104 ff., which records the erection, apparently at Rome, of a statue dedicated to Urbs at the expense of the inhabitants of Ostia. The statue was set up by Ragonius Vincentius Celsus v. c. praefectus annonae urbis Romae. Cf. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*,<sup>2</sup> p. 341, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> 301, 332, 341 and p. 5. Beurlier, *Le culte impérial*, Paris, 1891, pp. 168-172, seems to believe that the simple *flamines* were priests of the reigning emperor.



often municipal magistrates, and sometimes Roman knights (353, 390). Especially interesting is the dedication which is on the base of an equestrian statue of Fabius Hermogenes: 353 (restored from the similar inscription, *NS.* 1910, p. 13) [C. Domitio C. Fil. Pal.] Fabio Hermog[eni] equo publ. scribae aedil[i.] dec. adlect. flam. divi Hadri[ani] in cuius sacerdotio solus ac p[rimus ludos] scaenicos sua pecunia fecit, [aedili]. Hunc splendidissimus ordo dec[urionum] f(unere) p(ublico)] honoravit eique statuam equestre[m cum in]scriptione ob amorem et industria[m omne]m in foro ponendam pecun. publ. de[cr]evit], etc.

Shrines of the individual emperors who had *flamines* probably existed at Ostia.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, remains have been found of a shrine of several emperors in the heart of the barracks of the *vigiles*,<sup>10</sup> but this seems to have been a private sanctuary of the *vigiles*, not accessible to the inhabitants of the city. At the rear of the *atrium* of the barracks, in the place occupied by the *tablinum* of a private house, a narrow vestibule opens into a large room. Along the rear wall of this room is a platform on which are five bases for statues with inscriptions of the emperors:—(in order from right to left) Marcus Aurelius before he was emperor (*EE.* VII 1199, 140 A. D.), Marcus as emperor (*ibid.* 1200, 162 A. D.), Septimius Severus (*ibid.* 1203, 195 A. D.), Lucius Verus (*ibid.* 1201, 162 A. D.), Antoninus Pius (*ibid.* 1198, 138 A. D.). The inscription to Severus which occupies the centre of the platform is written over an erasure where, as Lanciani has shown, there was an inscription to Hadrian, in whose reign the small *Augusteum* was constructed. In the reign of Antoninus, statues of that emperor and of his adopted son Marcus Aurelius were erected, and later, when Marcus was

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps evidence for a shrine of Trajan is to be found in the inscription *NS.* 1911, p. 283. *Divo Traiano colleg. fabr. tig.*

<sup>10</sup> Lanciani, *NS.* 1889, pp. 72-78. For a view of the shrine cf. p. 74, plan, p. 78; *Mél.* 1889, pp. 174-179; André, *ibid.* pp. 180-183.

emperor, another statue of him and one of his co-regent Lucius Verus were added. On one side of the room is a base with an inscription to L. Aelius Caesar (*ibid.* 1197, 137 A. D.).<sup>11</sup> Traces of the sacrificial altar can be seen in the centre of the room. On the floor of the vestibule there is a mosaic representing the sacrifice of bulls, which Carcopino<sup>12</sup> has interpreted as a group of soldiers sacrificing to a living emperor.

In addition to the worship of individual emperors, the imperial cult existed in other forms at Ostia. When the *schola* of the *dendrophori* was repaired, it was dedicated to *Numen domus Augustae*. Compare 45. Numini domus Aug. D[endrophori Ostien]ses scolam quam sua pecunia constit[uerant novis sum]ptibus a solo [restituerunt. 46. Numini domus Augusti op. pl. p.<sup>13</sup> *EE.* ix 437 Numini domus Augusti Victor et Hedistus vern. disp. cum Traiano Aug. lib. a. X. m.<sup>14</sup> A fragmentary inscription (26) seems to refer to a sanctuary of the imperial Lares. Compare also 367. P. Horatio Chryseroti seviro Augustal. idem quinq. et immuni Larum Aug. etc.<sup>15</sup> Two dedications to Lares may

<sup>11</sup> Statues of Severus, Caracalla, Geta, and Julia Domna and of Diadumenianus. Gordian and Furia Sabinia were later placed in the court outside the *Augusteum*. Cf. *EE.* vii 1204-1211.

<sup>12</sup> *Mél.* 1907, pp. 227-241, Pl. v-vi. André, *Mél.* 1889, p. 182, had suggested that the name might refer to the cult of Mithras, but Carcopino shows very convincingly that it is far better to explain it as representing the sort of sacrifice that was probably often made in the shrine. The *acta fratrum Arvalium* tell us that a bull was the proper sacrifice for a living emperor. All the figures in the mosaic, except two who are identified as the drover and the *popa*, wear the tunic with or without the short mantle, and may very well be soldiers.

<sup>13</sup> Non intelligitur (Dessau).

<sup>14</sup> Aeris decem . . ? (Dessau).

<sup>15</sup> The connection of this *sevir Augustalis* with the cult of the Lares is interesting. His position as *immunis Larum Aug.* seems to be quite apart from his rank as *sevir*, though Porphyrio on Horace, *Sat.* ii. 3, 281 says that the cult of the Lares was cared for by freedmen called *Augustales*. The evidence seems to show that this statement is wrong. Cf. Mourlot, *Histoire de l'Augustalité*, Paris, 1895, p. 78.

refer to the imperial Lares.<sup>16</sup> A marble base bears the dedication (68), *Victoriae Augustor*. Yet another base, found recently just outside the city gates, has the inscription: *Saluti Caesaris August. Glabrio patronus coloniae d. d. f. c.*<sup>17</sup> Vaglieri thinks that the inscription dates from the coming of some emperor to Ostia in the early part of the second century. Carcopino tries to date the dedication more definitely.<sup>18</sup> He notes that a M'. Acilius Glabrio was consul with Commodus in 186 A. D.<sup>19</sup> In that year there was a dreadful plague at Rome, and Commodus, at the advice of his physicians, retired to his Laurentian villa. Prayers were offered for the emperor's safety in Ostia, and Carcopino believes that the statue of *Salus* may have been set up on this occasion. The letters of the inscription certainly indicate a second century date, though perhaps hardly so late a date as the time of Commodus. Moreover the base is in close relationship with the second century gate. But the name *Caesar Augustus* should refer to the first emperor,<sup>20</sup> and the simple

<sup>16</sup> 20, *EE*. IX 440.

<sup>17</sup> *NS*. 1910, p. 60. Vaglieri suggests that the base supported a statue of *Salus Augusta*, a standing woman about to feed a serpent, of a type found on the reverse of *denarii* of M'. Acilius Glabrio of 54 B. C. *Vale-tudinis* is inscribed on the reverse of these coins, and *salutis* on the obverse. Cf. Babelon, *Monnaies de la république romaine*, I. p. 106, Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, I. nos. 3943-3946.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Carcopino, *Journal des Savants*, 1911, pp. 459 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Carcopino states that the father, and probably the mother, of this M'. Acilius Glabrio were from Ostia. But his father, who seems to have been M'. Acilius Glabrio Cn. Cornelius Severus who was consul in 152, was apparently a native of Tibur. Cf. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, n. 57.

<sup>20</sup> This is the opinion of A. W. Van Buren, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1911, cols. 1290-1291. For the simple title *Caesar* used for Hadrian, Carcopino cites the inscription on a brick stamp, *CIL*. xv 4, but the use of such a title in the limited space of a brick stamp is hardly a parallel for the use of *Caesar Augustus* on a large monumental inscription.

form of the inscription in which the full *cursus* of Glabrio is not given is an indication of an early date. It is possible that the inscription is a second century restoration of a dedication from the time of Augustus.

In only a few instances is the epithet Augustus added to the name of a god, and in no case is it given to one of the more important gods of the city. Compare 51 [Ann]onam Aug. NS. 1910, p. 100. Herc. August. (found with a head of Hercules). The *collegia* sometimes gave the epithet to their patron deities. Thus we hear of the *collegium Silvani Aug.*, *mensores frumentarii Cereris Aug.* A patron and members of the *corpus stuppatorum* made a dedication to Minerva Aug. (44).

*Augustales* and *seviri Augustales* are known in large numbers from the inscriptions of Ostia.<sup>21</sup> Here, as was usually the case elsewhere, these offices were held by freedmen who were ineligible to the priesthoods and municipal magistracies. They formed an *ordo Augustalium*<sup>22</sup> which must have been a very important body in the town. Its officers were *curatores* and *quinquennales*. The order seems to have held slaves who were known as the *familia Augustalium* (367<sup>14</sup>), and to have had a treasury or *arca Augustalium* to which members sometimes made gifts (367, 431). There was probably a shrine of the *genius seviri Augustalium* at their meeting place.<sup>23</sup> Compare 12. G[enio] seviri Aug[ustalis] cur[ator] annis [continuis . . . nom]ine Liviae.

Von Premerstein,<sup>24</sup> who is followed by Neumann,<sup>25</sup> thinks that it is possible to make a distinction between the *seviri*

<sup>21</sup> Lists are given in *CIL*. xiv pp. 573-574. Additional inscriptions are: Augustalis, NS. 1910, p. 187; seviri Aug. EE. ix 436; seviri Aug. idem quinquennalis, *ibid.* vii 1225, 1227; ix 466; NS. 1910, p. 107.

<sup>22</sup> 367, 373, 421, 4140.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. von Premerstein s. v. *Augustales*, Ruggiero, p. 853.

<sup>24</sup> *L. c.* p. 851.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. s. v. *Augustales*, Pauly-Wissowa.



*Augustales* and the *Augustales*. Relying chiefly upon the inscriptions of Ostia for his evidence, he holds that about the year 142 A. D. the *seviri Augustales* throughout the Empire were organized into colleges; that in places like Ostia, Aquileia, and Puteoli, where hitherto only *Augustales* seem to have been known, *seviri* appear and are organized into bodies called *ordines*, *collegia*, or *corpora*, which succeed the *Augustales*. He dates this organization from evidence which he claims to find in the two following inscriptions of Ostia: S. Genio coloniae Ostiensium M. Cornelius Epagathus, curat. Augustal. etc. (consular date, 141 A. D.). 33. T. Annius Lucullus VVir Aug. idem qq. honoratus<sup>26</sup> signum Martis dendrophor. Ostiensium d. d. dedicavit (consular date, 143). He infers from the first inscription that the *Augustales* were still in existence in 141, from the second that the *seviri* were organized by 143. He finds further evidence for this reorganization in the inscription (360): Dis manibus A. Grani Attici seviri Augustali (*sic*) adlectus inter primos, quinquennalis curator perpetus. Rejecting the view of Dessau, who read *inter primos quinquennales*, and supposed that there were different ranks among the *quinquennales*, von Premierstein thinks that Atticus became one of the first members of the order when the *seviri* were instituted about 142.

An examination of the inscriptions of Ostia reveals a weak point in the argument of von Premierstein. He assumes that the phrase *curator Augustalium* in no. 8 could have been used only before the organization of the *seviri*, after which time the *curatores* were called *curatores ordinis Augusta-*

<sup>26</sup> Von Premierstein, *l. c.*, expands this as VVir Aug(ustalis) idem q(uin)q(uennalitate) honoratus; curiously enough, on p. 858 where he cites this inscription among the inscriptions of the *Augustales* and *seviri* of Ostia, he follows the reading of Dessau, *sevir Aug(ustalis) idem quinquennalis*. The frequency of this phrase in inscriptions of Ostia distinctly favors the latter reading. *Honoratus*, then, probably refers to the college of the *dendrophori*, as Dessau has suggested.

*lium*.<sup>27</sup> Although there is no other occurrence of *curator Augustalium* in the inscriptions of Ostia, it is significant that in an inscription recently discovered there a *sevir Augustalis* is called *curator eorum*, not *curator ordinis eorum* (NS. 1910, p. 107). Moreover, von Premerstein, though believing that the reorganization extended throughout the Empire, makes no attempt to account for the occurrence of the term *curator Augustalium* in an inscription of Puteoli of the year 165 (CIL. x 1881). In assuming that in the phrase *curator Augustalium* the plural *Augustales* cannot refer to the organized body, von Premerstein is overlooking the same usage in the phrases *familia Augustalium*, *arca Augustalium*, both of which occur in inscriptions of Ostia later than 143.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore he neglects the evidence furnished by inscriptions like 367 (182 A. D.) and 431 (about 240), both of which record gifts of *seviri Augustales* to the *decuriones et Augustales*, who are immediately referred to again as *ordo Augustalium*.<sup>29</sup> An examination of the inscriptions brought together in von Premerstein's lists<sup>30</sup> shows that *Augustales* is frequently used elsewhere to refer to the whole body, especially in such phrases as *decuriones et Augustales*,<sup>31</sup> *arca Augustalium*.<sup>32</sup> In view of these facts we must conclude that von Premerstein is not justified in

<sup>27</sup> Cf. 421, 431. The latter inscription is to be dated about 240.

<sup>28</sup> 367 (182 A. D.), 431 (ca. 240).

<sup>29</sup> In no. 367 the body is referred to as *seviri Augustales* at the beginning (l. 3), as *Augustales* when combined with the *decuriones* (l. 18), and finally as *ordo Augustalium* (l. 20).

<sup>30</sup> L. c. pp. 857-877.

<sup>31</sup> This phrase is very frequent, though in many places where it is found, e. g. Vibo, Volceii, Atina, Croto, Petelia, the few inscriptions show no cas s of *seviri*. However at Auximum a *sevir et Augustalis* makes a gift to the *decuriones*, *Augustales*, and *coloni*. Cf. CIL. ix 5823. Cf. also CIL. v 985 (Aquilaia), gift to the *Augustales*.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. CIL. ix 491 (Reate). Cf. also *quinquennalis Augustalium*, CIL. ix 2678, 2685 (Aesernia). A *sevir Augustalis* is mentioned in the first inscription, but no *Augustales* are known from Aesernia.

taking 141 as a *terminus post quem* for the organization of the *seviri* throughout the Empire.

On the other hand the inscriptions of Ostia seem to support von Premerstein's *terminus ante quem*. Several of the inscriptions of *Augustales* and *seviri* may be dated approximately by the numbers of the *lustra* of the *collegium fabrum tignuariorum*. Dessau has shown that the thirty-third *lustrum* of this college probably fell between 200 and 240 A. D.<sup>33</sup> By this and other means we are enabled to date the following inscriptions that bear upon this problem:

299. *Augustalis*, before 90 A. D. (2<sup>nd</sup> *lustrum*)  
 33. *sevir Augustalis*, 143 (consular date)  
 367. " " 182 " "  
 297. " " 160-200 (25<sup>th</sup> *lustrum*)  
 EE. VII 1227 *sevir Augustalis*, after 179 (dated from a  
*flamen divi Marci*)  
 418. *sevir Augustalis*, 215-255 (36<sup>th</sup> *lustrum*)  
 431. " " about 240 (dated from comparison  
 with 352, 432, and 461).

From this list it is clear that *Augustalis* as the title for an individual occurs on no inscription of Ostia which can be dated after the end of the first century, and that *sevir Augustalis* is first found in a datable inscription in 143, and occurs frequently after that. The indications are then that the *seviri* were instituted and formed into colleges between 100 and 143. The fact that *seviri* are far more numerous than *Augustales*<sup>34</sup> is in accord with this conclusion, inasmuch as the number of inscriptions of the first century from Ostia is naturally far smaller than the number for the succeeding centuries. Moreover, *quinquennales* are always *seviri*,<sup>35</sup> that is, they were not known, so far as we

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Dessau on 128.

<sup>34</sup> *Augustalis* occurs in 19 inscriptions, *sevir Augustalis* in 64.

<sup>35</sup> The *quinquennales* at Ostia are usually designated by the phrase *sevir Aug(ustalis) idem quinquennalis*.

can tell, before the institution of the *seviri*. Von Premerstein is probably right in believing that A. Granius Atticus of 360 was one of the first *seviri* elected.<sup>36</sup>

About half of the *seviri Augustales* of the inscriptions of Ostia are also *quinquennales*. The frequent occurrence of the *quinquennales* makes it seem probable that the office became purely honorary, and that the *curatores*, of whom many are known, were the real officers of the order.<sup>37</sup> This view is supported by 316. D. m. L. Carullius Epaphroditus VIvir Aug. idem q. q. --- Huic VIviri Aug. post curam quinquennalitatem optuler(unt) qui egit annis continuis IIII. That is, Epaphroditus was made *quinquennalis* because he had been a good *curator*.

Two *seviri* of Ostia held the same position at Tusculum (372, 421). L. Antonius Epitynchanus, *quinquennalis collegi fabrum tignuarius* of Ostia, was *sevir Augustalis* in Aquae Sextiae (296). On the other hand, L. Numisius Agathemerus, a *negotiator* from *Hispania citerior*, became *sevir Augustalis* at Ostia (397).

Special public honors to members of the order at Ostia are recorded: 318 D. m. L. Carulli Felicissimi bis(elliarii) VI [viri] Aug. idem qq. L(aurentis) L(avinatis) qq. cor[p]or(is) vin(ariorum) urb(anorum) et Ost(iensium) etc.; 415. C. Silio Epaphrae L. Felici Miori Augustali hunc d. f. p. efferundum cens. Nerva filius honore usus impensam remisit etc. 367. P. Horatio Chryseroti seviro Augustal.

<sup>36</sup> A further sign of the union of *Augustales* and *seviri Augustales* at Ostia is found in the fact that in 318 and possibly in 431 *seviri Augustales* are also *biselliarii*, i. e. they are entitled to the *bisellium* which is in general the special prerogative of the *Augustales*. The only other records of *seviri* as *biselliarii* are in *CIL*. IX 3524, 2682.

<sup>37</sup> This is the view of Dessau, *CIL*. XIV p. 5, and of Murlot, *Histoire de l'Augustalité*, pp. 117-118. Von Premerstein, however, (*l. c.* p. 852) takes the view of Schmidt (*De seviris Augustalibus*, 1878, p. 85) that the office of *quinquennalis* at Ostia was held not for five years but for one. It is doubtful whether the term *quinquennalis* is susceptible of such an interpretation.



idem quinq. et immuni Larum Aug. ex s. c. seviri Augustales statuam ei ponendam decreverunt quod is arcae eorum etc.

Members of the order held office in the *collegia*: 309. Dis manibus L. Calpurnius Chius seviri Aug. et quinquennalis idem quinq. corporis mensor. frumentarior. Ostiens. et curat. bis idem codicar. curat Ostis, et III honor., idem quinquennal. collegi Silvani Aug. maioris quod est Hilarionis functus sacomari idem magistro ad Marte(m) Ficanum Aug. idem in collegio dendrofor. fecit sibi et Corneliae etc. Among the members were *quinquennales* of the *collegium fabrum lignuariorum*,<sup>38</sup> *corpus vinariorum urbanorum et Ostiensium* (318), *corpus fabrum navalium Ostiensium*<sup>39</sup> *corpus treiectus marmorariorum*,<sup>40</sup> *corpus mensorum frumentariorum adiutorum* (4140). In the order was a *stipulator argentarius* (405), and, if one may judge from the reliefs on the sarcophagus of P. Nonius Zetheus, a *pistor* (393).

In the case of at least one *sevir* we have evidence of an interest in literature—that is if we may suppose that Epaphroditus wrote his own epitaph in which a line of Vergil is quoted:—et quem mi dederat cursum fortuna peregit.<sup>41</sup> One is reminded of Trimalchio, the famous *sevir* of Petronius.

<sup>38</sup> 297, 419; *quinquennalis magister*, 418; *magister quinquennalis*, 299, 407.

<sup>39</sup> *quinquennalis perpetuus*, 372.

<sup>40</sup> *patronus* and *quinquennalis*, 425. This is the only *patronus* known among the *Augustales* at Ostia.

<sup>41</sup> 316. Buechler, *Carm. Epig.* 1105, cf. Verg. *Aen.* iv. 653, vixi et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi. Cf. Mourlot, *op. cit.* p. 123.

## CHAPTER III

### ORIENTAL GODS

#### MAGNA MATER

In 204 B. C. the ship which brought the sacred stone of the Great Mother from Pessinus was met at Ostia by P. Scipio Nasica, who had been chosen as the best man of the state, and by the foremost Roman matrons.<sup>1</sup> Here, according to tradition, occurred the dramatic vindication of the noble Claudia Quinta.<sup>2</sup> The ship had grounded at the river's mouth and all efforts to dislodge it were of no avail until Claudia Quinta, with a prayer to the goddess to free her from the false charges that had been made against her, came forward and drew the boat up into the stream.

Although the arrival of the sacred stone must have made a deep impression on the inhabitants of Ostia, there is no reason to believe that the worship of the Great Mother was established at Ostia at that time. Her cult, introduced at Rome by order of the Sibylline Books in order to rid Italy of the foreign foe, was fostered chiefly by the state. It was not until the time of the Empire, when the full Phrygian ritual was adopted, that the goddess made a strong appeal to individual worshippers. At Ostia there is no evidence for the existence of the cult before the second century after Christ. It is possible, however, that it was established there as early as the reign of Claudius when Magna Mater seems

<sup>1</sup> Showerman, *The Great Mother of the Gods*, *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Philology and Literature Series*, I. Madison, 1901, pp. 225 ff.; Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, Chicago, 1911, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, IV. 305-330.

to have been especially favored at Rome.<sup>3</sup> There must certainly have been many votaries of the Phrygian goddess among the merchants who began to come to Ostia after the construction of the Port of Claudius, and especially after Trajan's harbor was completed.

The cult of Magna Mater and of Attis who was worshiped with her became one of the most important of the city. She is the only deity except Mithras who is known to have had temples both at Ostia and at Portus. *Taurobolia* were performed at both places. Inscriptions give the names of numerous priests and devotees of the goddess. The sacred colleges which were attached to her cult, the *dendrophori* and the *cannophori*, had a very prominent place in the life of the colony. From no other city outside of Rome is there so much valuable material, both epigraphical and archaeological, for the study of the Phrygian cults under the Roman Empire.

The temple of Magna Mater or the *Metroum* was discovered in the excavations of 1867.<sup>4</sup> It is situated about 200 yards to the south of the 'Capitolium' and just south of the Via Laurentina. It is a small tetrastyle prostyle structure, with a cella that is almost quadrangular. Though no inscriptions were found in it, the finds in the neighborhood identify it beyond a doubt. Adjoining it was the

<sup>3</sup>The March festival of the goddess seems to have been recognized then, and the cult may have come under the direction of the *quindecimviri* at this time. Cf. Rapp s. v. Kybele, Roscher, col. 1669; Cumont, *op. cit.* p. 55. Cf. however, von Domazewski, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1911, p. 56, who thinks that this March festival was introduced by Claudius Gothicus. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*,<sup>2</sup> p. 322, doubts whether the festival was introduced before the end of the second century.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. C. L. Visconti, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1868, pp. 362-413, 1869, pp. 208-245; *Mon. dell'Inst.* VIII. Tav. LX. The complete publication of the buildings which was promised by Visconti never appeared. A small *Mithreum* found near by was thought by Visconti to have been a place for initiations into the cult of Magna Mater. See also Paschetto, *op. cit.* pp. 370-384.

*schola* of the *dendrophori*, identified by an inscription; here there were two altars, dedicated undoubtedly to Cybele and to Attis. In a niche in the *schola* was found a seated statue of Cybele of about half life size. The head and fore-arms were lacking.<sup>5</sup> In front of the temple was a large quadrangular area, open toward the temple, and shut in on the other sides by a portico and by rooms opening on the area.<sup>6</sup> The space was never paved; the ancient level showed a stratum of fine yellow sand. The fragmentary inscriptions (40, 41) found there suggest that the *taurobolia* were performed in this area, which must have been well adapted to these sacrifices. There can be little doubt that this was the *campus Matris deum* where P. Clodius Abascantus erected a statue of his son. Compare 324. P. Cl. P. f. Horat. Abascantiano fil. dulcissimo P. Cl. Abascantus pater qq. II. corp. dendrophorum Ostiens; (on another side) M. Antius Crescens Calpurnianus pontif. Volk. et aedium sacrar. statuum poni in campo Matris deum infantilem permisi VIII. Kal. April. [Plautiano] II. et Geta II. cos. (203 A. D.). In this area was found the well-known reclining statue of Attis, now in the Lateran Museum, the best statue of the god in existence.<sup>7</sup> On its plinth is the inscription (38): Numini Attis C. Cartilius Euplus ex monitu deae. Here too a bronze statue of Venus, also in the Lateran Museum, came to light.<sup>8</sup> Probably this statue was originally either

<sup>5</sup> *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1868, p. 390; Paschetto, *op. cit.* p. 372. This statue does not seem to be in the Lateran now. It cannot be identical with a colossal statue of Cybele in the Villa Palca, which is said to have come from Ostia. Cf. Matz and von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, I. p. 241, no. 903.

<sup>6</sup> Visconti, *I. c.* pp. 209 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Reproduced *Mon. dell'Inst.* IX. Tav. VIII. a; Showerman, *op. cit.* opposite p. 288. Cf. Helbig, *Führer*, I. no. 721. The statue is particularly interesting because Attis is represented holding a half-moon, an attribute of Men, who was often identified with Attis in the Roman cult. Cf. Cumont, *op. cit.* p. 62.

<sup>8</sup> Helbig, *op. cit.* I. no. 720; *Mon. dell'Inst.* IX. Tav. VIII.



in the temple, where it may have been dedicated to *Magna Mater*, or in the *schola* of the *dendrophori*, where statues of *Terra Mater*, *Silvanus*, and *Mars* were placed.<sup>9</sup>

Aside from the inscription on the statue of *Attis*, only one dedicatory inscription to the Phrygian gods has come to light: *I. G. xiv. 913* [θεοῖσι] ἀθανάτοις [Ῥεῖῃ τε καὶ Ἀττει] μνηοτ[υράννω].<sup>10</sup>

A great many names of priests, devotees, and temple attendants of the cult occur in the inscriptions. Both men and women were *sacerdotes* of the goddess. The sarcophagus of one priestess, which is now in the Vatican,<sup>11</sup> has the inscription (371 add.): *D. m. C. Iunius Pal. Euhodus magister qq. collegi fabr. tign. Ostis. lustris XXI. fecit sibi et Metiliae Acte sacerdoti M. d. m. colon. Ost. coniug. sanctissime*. The inscribed tablet is on the front of the cover of the sarcophagus. On either side of it lighted torches are represented in relief; on the left are a *tympanon* and a *lagobolon*, on the right, cymbals and a double flute, all objects which were used in the worship of *Magna Mater*.

Two *sacerdotes* of the shrine of the goddess at *Portus* are known from a *cippus* which bears the inscription (429): *L. Valerius L. fil. Fyrmus sacerdos Isidis Ostens et M(atris) d(eum) Trastib.*<sup>12</sup> *fec. sibi*. The reliefs on this small *cippus*, representing a pitcher, two small boxes, a cock, an hydria, and lotus flowers refer to the cults of both *Isis* and

<sup>9</sup> Cf. 21 add., which records the dedication of a statue of *Venus* to *Isis* and *Bubastis*.

<sup>10</sup> Omitted by Cagnat, *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pert.* Cf. Drexler s. v. *Meter*, Roscher, col. 2919; Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult*, Giessen, 1903, p. 82.

<sup>11</sup> Museo Chiaramonti, 179; Amelung, *Sc. des. Vat. Mus.* i. p. 429, Taf. 45; Altmann, *Architectur und Ornamentik der antiken Sarkophage*, p. 104. The reliefs on the sarcophagus represent the myth of *Alcestis*.

<sup>12</sup> *M(atris) d(eum) Tra(n)stib(erina) est eadem atque M(atris) d(eum) m(agna) Port(us) Augusti et Traiani Felicis* (n. 408), ita appellata ab Ostiensibus quod *Tiberis* inter moenia coloniae et *Portum* interfluebat. (Dessau.)

Magna Mater.<sup>13</sup> Compare also 408(a) Salonia Carpime Saloniae Euterpe sacerdoti M. d. m. Port. Aug. et Traiani Felicis patronae suae optimae bene merenti fecit et sibi et Salonio Hermeti Salonio Dorae Saloniae Tertiae et eor. filis pars dimidia intransib. laeva. (b) M. Cutius Rusticus tibico (*sic*) M. d. m. Portus Aug. et Traiani Felicis fecit sibi et Cutiae Theodote et libertis libertabusq. posterisq. eorum pars dimidia ad dextra.

*Archigalli* of the colony are mentioned in three inscriptions: 34 ..... elicis Q. Caecilius Fuscus archigallus coloniae Ostensis imaginem Matris deum argenteam p. i. cum si. gno (*sic*) Nemesem<sup>14</sup> kannophris Ostiensibus d.d. 35. Q. Caecilius Fuscus archigallus c. O. imaginem Attis argentiam p. i. cum sigillo frugem aereo<sup>15</sup> cannophris

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Benndorf and Schoene, *op. cit.* pp. 52-53, Taf. xvii. 2; Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, p. 237, Fig. 191.

<sup>14</sup> *Cum signo Nemesem* (for Nemesis) indicates that Cybele in the statue presented was represented holding a statuette of Nemesis in her hand. Similarly, medallions of Smyrna of the time of Septimius Severus show Cybele holding in her right hand two figurines which represent the two Nemeses whose cult there was perhaps associated with hers. Cf. Decharme s. v. Cybele, Daremberg and Saglio, p. 1687.

<sup>15</sup> *Cum sigillo frugem aereo* obviously corresponds to *cum signo Nemesem* of the preceding inscription. C. L. Visconti, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1868, p. 393 says "Debbe intendersi che Atti avea, forse in mano, un fascio di spighe, lavorato in bronzo, probabilmente dorato." Dessau finds this explanation unsatisfactory. Cumont s. v. Attis, Ruggiero, points out that *sigillum* must mean a statuette, in contrast to *imago*, the large statue, and thinks it probable that *frugem* is written for *frugis* or *Phrygis*, i. e. a priest of Attis. Cf. Dionys. ii. 19; Propertius ii. 22, 16. The scene would then represent the priest worshipping Attis, a scene similar to that of the woman of the Venetian Bas-relief. Cf. Roscher, i. p. 726. It seems to me more probable that *Frugem* is here a personification—a view suggested by Dessau, *CIL*. xiv p. 565. Attis, who was often represented holding flowers, fruit, and grain as in the statue from Ostia, could very well have been portrayed holding a statuette of *Frux*. However, I know of no such representation of the god. Unfortunately the second volume of Hepding's work on Attis, containing the complete collection of the monuments for the cult, has not appeared. Though there is no evidence for the personification of

Ostiensibus donum dedit. 385 (Small marble *cista* found in the area described above) <sup>16</sup> M. Modius Maxximus archigallus coloniae Ostiensis. On top of the *cista* there is a cock. To the right of the inscription are reliefs of a curved flute and a *pedum*; a representation of a reed pipe breaks up the letters of the latter part of the inscription. Especially interesting because of its bearing on the Attis myth is the relief to the left of the inscription, in which Attis and the lion of Cybele are represented among reeds.<sup>17</sup>

An *apparitor* of the goddess at Ostia who was the freedman of a priest (probably of Magna Mater) is mentioned in 53: C. Atilius Bassi sacerdotis lib. Felix apparator M. d. m. signum Silvani dendrophoris Ostiensibus d.d. The inscription of a *tibicen* of the shrine in Portus has been cited.

The title *pater*, which is frequently used to denote an initiate in the cult of Mithras, occurs at Ostia as the name of an initiate of the Phrygian cult. With it is found also the title *mater*.<sup>18</sup> Compare 37. Q. Domitius Aterianus pat(er) et Domitia Civitas mat(er) signum Attis cann. Ost. d. d. (On this base are represented a *syrinx*, a *lituus*,

the singular Frux, the plural Fruges, which is more frequently used, is personified in *CIL.* v 3227 . . . elia sacr. Frugibus et Feminis. In view of the large number of deified abstractions known in later Roman Religion the deification of Frux seems natural.

<sup>16</sup> C. L. Visconti, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1869, pp. 240-245; *Mon. dell'Inst.* ix. Tav. viii a. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Visconti, *l. c.*, finds in this relief important evidence for the Attis myth. He thinks that Cybele finally found Attis hiding in thick reeds on the banks of the Gallos. This would then throw light on the words *canna intrat* found in the *Fasti Philocali* for March 15th (cf. *CIL.* i<sup>2</sup> p. 260), and on the institution of the *cannophori*; Cumont s. v. *Cannophori*, Pauly-Wissowa, says: "Die Cista aus Ostia . . . giebt keinen sicheren Anhaltspunkt. Es scheint jedoch, dass das Cannophorenfest an die Aussetzung und Entdeckung des Attis am Ufer des Gallos erinnerte."

<sup>18</sup> Hepding (*op. cit.* p. 154, p. 187) notes that *pater* and *mater* refer here to rank among the worshipers of the goddess, rather than to offices among the *cannophori* or *dendrophori*.

and a Phrygian cap.) 69. Virtutem dendrop(horis) ex arg(enti) p(ondo duobus) Iunia Zosime mat(er) d. d.

*Taurobolia* were performed both at Ostia and at Portus, and there is evidence for the *criobolium* also at the former place. One inscription, which comes either from Ostia or from Portus, records the performance of the *taurobolium* for an individual: 39. Aemilia Serapias taurobolium fecit et aram taurobolatam posuit per sacerdotes Valerio Pancarpo Idib. Mais. Anullino II. et Frontone cos. (199 A. D.). Three fragmentary inscriptions record *taurobolia* made publicly, probably in every case by the *cannophori* for the emperor and his household, the senate, equestrian order, army, *decuriones* of Ostia etc:<sup>19</sup> 40. Taurob[olium factum Matri deum magn. Idaeae pro salute] Im[p. Caesaris] M. Aurel[i Antonini Aug. et] L. Aureli [Commodi Caes et] Faustina[e Aug. Matris castro]rum libe[rorumque eorum senatus XVvir s. f. equestr.] ordin. ex[ercituum ...] navigan[tium ...] decurio[num<sup>20</sup> col. Ost. ...] canno[phori ...] nat...in... 42. Taurob[olium factum Matri deum] magnae Id[aeae pro salute et victoria] Imp. Caes. C. V[ibi Treboniani Galli Pii] Fel. Aug. et [imp. Caes. C. Vibi Afini Galli] Veldum[niani Vol]usiani P[rii Fel.] Aug. tot[iu]sq. domus divin. eor. [et] sen[at]us X]V vir s. f. equestr. ordin. ex[ercituum ....] navigantium s ... 43. Taurobolium factum Matr. deum magn. Idaeae pro salut. et rexit. et victor. imp. ... The *criobolium* seems to have been performed under the same auspices. Cf. 41. Crinobolium factum [Matri] deum magn. Ideae pr[o salute] imp. Caes. La ... etc. These sacrifices made by the *cannophori* may be compared with Apuleius' report of the prayers offered by the *pastophori* at the time of the festival of Isis in Kenchreai.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Dessau, s. 40-43. On the *taurobolium* see Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 323-325.

<sup>20</sup> *Sacra faciunt cannophori ...; fortasse decurionum quoque mentio eo, non ad formulam voti, pertinet* (Dessau).

<sup>21</sup> Apuleius, *Metam.* xi. 17. See p. 71, n. 20.



*Taurobolia* at Portus, on the other hand, seem to have been performed under the direction of the *archigallus* of Rome, probably on the occasion of the departure of an emperor from there.<sup>22</sup> Cf. Ulpian, *De Excusationibus*.<sup>23</sup> *Is qui in portu pro salute imperatoris sacrum facit ex vaticinatione archigalli a tutelis excusatur.* We have seen that Magna Mater is the only deity except Mithras who is known to have had temples both at Ostia and at Portus. It is possible that her shrine at Portus, with which an area like the *campus* at Ostia for the performance of *taurobolia* was probably connected, was established as a place for sacrifices in honor of the emperors.

The finds at Ostia show clearly the close relation of the *dendrophori* and the *cannophori* with the cult of Magna Mater.<sup>24</sup> Immediately adjoining the rear of the temple of the goddess there is a large irregular room of almost trapezoidal shape which is identified as the *schola* of the *dendrophori* by the inscription of late third century date, (45): *Numini domus Aug. d[endrophori Ostien]ses scolam quam sua pecunia constit[uerant novis sum]ptibus a solo [restituerunt].*<sup>25</sup> Along the walls of the room, except on the side toward the *Metroum*, is a stone bench spacious enough to provide seating capacity for fifty members of the college. In the centre of the room there were two altars, used, no doubt, for sacrifices to Attis and Cybele.<sup>26</sup> This *schola* must have been adorned with the statues of various gods

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Dessau, *l. c.*

<sup>23</sup> *Fragmenta Vaticana*, 148.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Cumont s. v. *cannophori*, *dendrophori*, Pauly-Wissowa, and s. v. *cannophorus*, Ruggiero; Aurigemma s. v. *dendrophorus*, *ibid.* For a new theory of the origin of the *dendrophori* see von Domazewski, *l. c.* p. 53.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Hepding, *op. cit.* p. 154, on the connection of the *dendrophori* with the imperial cult in the later period. Cf. also Aurigemma, *l. c.* p. 1704.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Visconti, *l. c.* pp. 385 ff.; Aurigemma, *l. c.* p. 1679. For plan see *Mon. dell'Inst.* VIII. Tav. LX. B; De Marchi, *Il culto privato di Roma antica*, II. Tav. VI.

which are known to have been presented to the *dendrophori* by members of their body and by devotees of Cybele. Inscriptions record gifts of statues of Silvanus (53), Terra Mater (67), Mars (33), and Virtus (69), to the college. It is not fair, however, to assume from the fact that these statues were presented to the *dendrophori* that all these gods were worshiped by the college. Although Terra Mater, who was sometimes identified with Cybele,<sup>27</sup> and Silvanus were certainly worshiped by them, there is no reason to believe that such was the case with Mars and Virtus. Aurigemma<sup>28</sup> suggests that these gods may have been the special protectors of the persons who dedicated statues of them, or that the statues may have been given simply to adorn the *schola*. Statues of the emperors seem also to have stood there. The bases of statues of Antoninus Pius (97) and Lucius Verus (107) have been found.

Seven inscriptions of the *cannophori* came to light in a niche of this *schola* in the substructures of the temple. Since the *cannophori* are known from an inscription<sup>29</sup> to have had a *schola* of their own, it seems probable that these inscriptions had been removed from it. Two of them are on bases made for statues of emperors.<sup>30</sup> Two others record the presentation to the *cannophori* of statues of Magna Mater and Attis by Q. Caecilius Fuscus, *archigallus* of the colony.<sup>31</sup> A second statue of Attis was presented by two devotees of the Phrygian gods who bore the titles *pater* and *mater* (37). A gift of another statue of Cybele is recorded in 36: Calpurnia Chelido typum Matris deum argenti p.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Graillot, *Mélanges Perrot*, p. 142, n. 7-9. Aurigemma, *l. c.* p. 1678, seems not to know of this identification.

<sup>28</sup> Ruggiero, *l. c.*

<sup>29</sup> Cf. 285. Dessau suspects the authenticity of this inscription.

<sup>30</sup> 116, 117. Cf. 118, 119.

<sup>31</sup> 34, 35. Cumont s. v. *cannophorus*, Ruggiero, suggests that the priests of Cybele and Attis may have held a place among the *cannophori*.

II. cantuoforis Ost. d. d. et dedicabit.<sup>32</sup> We have already seen that public *taurobolia* were performed at Ostia by the *cannophori*.

In studying the evidence for these two colleges, one is impressed by the fact that statues of the Phrygian gods only were presented to the *cannophori*, while the *dendrophori* received statues of other gods. Perhaps the explanation lies in the difference between the two colleges; the *dendrophori* seem to have been a college that combined professional with religious purposes, while the *cannophori* had a purely religious organization.

#### EGYPTIAN GODS

The earliest known shrines of Egyptian gods in Italy, the *Sarapeum* of Puteoli and the *Iseum* of Pompeii, date from the second century B. C.<sup>1</sup> The worship was probably introduced at Rome from ports of Southern Italy. As early as 59 B. C. there were many devotees of Isis in Rome,<sup>2</sup> and the sacred college of the *pastophori* traced its origin to the time of Sulla.<sup>3</sup> But merchants from Egypt seem not to have been attracted to Ostia in large numbers before the port of Claudius was built. Indeed the fleet which brought grain from Egypt to Italy (*classis Alexandrina*) probably docked regularly at Puteoli until the port of Trajan was completed.<sup>4</sup> Later this fleet, which, at least in the early third century, was manned by Alexandrians, brought many

<sup>32</sup> Visconti, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1868, p. 395, notes that *typus* is used to refer to the sacred stone of the goddess which was brought from Pessinus (cf. *Vita Heliogab.* 3, 4), and suggests that Calpurnia gave a facsimile of the sacred stone to the *cannophori*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dubois, *op. cit.* pp. 148 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*,<sup>2</sup> p. 351.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Apuleius, *Metam.* XI. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 77, 1; Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, p. 406.

worshippers of Isis and Sarapis to Portus. A *Sarapeum* was established at Portus by Alexandrians, and modelled after the great sanctuary of the god at Alexandria. Its datable monuments belong to the early third century after Christ. Isis, on the other hand, had a temple at Ostia where she may have been worshiped as a goddess of the sea before there was much direct intercourse between Ostia and Egypt.

The worship of Isis and Sarapis was, as always, closely related at Ostia and Portus. We find at Ostia dedications to Sarapis, and evidence for the existence of a small shrine of Isis at Portus. Bubastis, another Egyptian goddess, shares with Isis one dedication from Ostia. The monuments indicate that the Egyptian gods were most important at the port during the late second and early third centuries, just when their worship was at its height at Rome.

**Isis.** That the *Iseum*, which has not been definitely located,<sup>5</sup> was at Ostia is proved by the title of the priests of the goddess—*sacerdos Isidis Ostiensis*. Compare 429. L. Valerius L. fil. Fyrmus sacerdos Isidis Ostens. et M. D. Trastib. fec. sibi.<sup>6</sup> 437. D. [m.] M. Ulpi Faed[imi sacer]-dotis Isi[dis Ost?] etc. *EE*. ix 474. D] m.....tiani decur. Ost. [omnib. hon]or. funct. Sal. L. L.....lic maioris [sacerdo]s Isidis Ost. [incomp]arabilissimo. Compare also *EE*. ix 471. Another priest, probably of the same temple, has the title *sacerdos sanctae reginae*: 352 a. D. Fabio D. filio Pal. Floro Veraio sacerdot. sanct. reg[in]

<sup>5</sup> Paschetto (*op. cit.* p. 401) notes that a number of objects having to do with the cult of Isis were found in the region between the so-called temple of Vulcan and the river, and suggests that the temple of the goddess is to be sought in that vicinity. He enumerates two inscriptions (20, 21), a statue of a kneeling *pastophoros* (present whereabouts unknown), a sculptured pilaster with lotus leaves on it, now in the Lateran (Benndorf and Schoene, *op. cit.* no. 546), and some small fragments of sculpture of Egyptian style.

<sup>6</sup> It is noteworthy that Fyrmus was priest of Magna Mater at Portus. The reliefs on his monuments represent objects connected with the cults of both Cybele and Isis. Cf. Drexler s. v. Isis, Roscher, col. 443.



iudicio maiestatis eius elect. Anubiaco prima dec. Laur. vic. Aug. Quattervi naviculario V. corpor. lenunculariorum Ost. honorib. ac munerib. omnib. funct. sodali corp. V. region. col. Ost., huic statuum Flavius Moschylus v. c. Isiacus huius loci memor eius sanctimoniae castitat. testament. suo constitui ab heredib. suis iussit patrono munditiario etc.

It was probably a priest of the main sanctuary who with some initiates restored a *megaron* in Portus. Lanciani has shown that the *megaron*, known only here in the cult of Isis, was probably an underground sanctuary designed for the celebrations of the mysteries of the goddess.<sup>7</sup> Compare 18. [Pr]o salute imp. Caes. . . . . p. f. Aug. Camurenus verv. sac. deae Isidis cap. ced. et ceteri [Isi]aci magar. de suo restitu. 19. Voto succe[pto] Calventia Severina et Aurelia Severa nepos megarum ampliaverunt.

From no other place are there so many inscriptions of devotees and initiates of the cult of Isis and other Egyptian gods. Most frequent are the *Isiaci* who, though known from numerous references in Latin literature,<sup>8</sup> are rarely mentioned in inscriptions elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> They were initiates of the cult who were sometimes in charge of a small shrine. Thus Flavius Moschylus v. c. mentioned in 352 is *Isiacus huius loci*. The name of one *Isiaca* is known.<sup>10</sup> The reliefs on the sepulchral inscription of Flavia Caecilia seem to indicate that she too was an *Isiaca*, or, at any rate, that

<sup>7</sup> *Bull. dell'Inst.* 1868, pp. 228 ff. Lanciani points out that the word *megaron* is frequently used to denote an underground sanctuary where the mysteries of Demeter and Persephone were performed. The use of the word *megaron* here in the cult of Isis furnishes additional evidence for the familiar identification of Isis with Demeter. Cf. Drexler, *l. c.*

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Suet. *Dom.* 1; Val. Max. vii. 3, 8; Pliny, *H. N.* xxvii. 53; Min. Felix 22. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Isiaci* at Ostia: 18, 343, 352, *EE.* vii 1194. They are known also at Pompeii. Cf. *CIL.* iv 787, 1011.

<sup>10</sup> 302. Other *Isiaca*e, *CIL.* vi 1780; ii 1611.

she made sacrifices to Isis.<sup>11</sup> *Anubiaci*, or attendants who carried the image of the dog-headed Anubis in festivals of the Egyptian gods, also very rarely mentioned in inscriptions,<sup>12</sup> are found at Ostia. A *Bubastiaca*,<sup>13</sup> or initiate of the cult of Bubastis, completes the list of these devotees of the Egyptian gods. The entire absence of evidence for *pastophori* is strange. In view of the prominence of the sacred colleges connected with the worship of Magna Mater, we should expect to find similar organizations in the cult of Isis. It is possible that the discovery of the temple of the goddess will prove the existence of this college.

Dedications from Ostia give further evidence for the cult of Isis. In a *pro salute* inscription (20), she is invoked together with Sarapis, Silvanus, and the Lares.<sup>14</sup> A fragmentary inscription groups her with Sarapis: *EE. ix 435 Duo v[ir] Isi et S[erapi ta] bernas*. In another case she is grouped with Bubastis: 21 add. *Isidi Bubas[ti] Vener(em) arg(enteam) p(ondo unum semissem) cor(onam) aur(eam) p(ondo uncias tres scriptula tria), cor(onam) anal(empsiacam) p(ondo uncias quinque scriptula octo) Caltil(ia) Diodora Bubastiaca testamento dedit*.<sup>15</sup> Compare also *EE. vii 1194. P. Cornelius P. f. Victorinus Isiacus et Anubiacus et decurialis scriba librarius col. Ost. signum Martis cum equiliolo Isidi reginae restitutrici salutis suae d. d.*

<sup>11</sup> 1044. *Flaviae Caeciliae et Q. [M]aeci Iuve[n]alis*. The inscription is written on a terra cotta epistyle. To the left of the name of Flavia Caecilia are reliefs of a bull, a *sistrum*, and a basket of fruit; to the right, a bull, a *sistrum*, and a *situla* on which there is a bust, probably of Harpocrates. Cf. Benndorf and Schoene, *op. cit.* p. 386.

<sup>12</sup> 352. *EE. vii 1194*. Found also at Nemausus, *CIL. xii 3043*. The title is equivalent to *Anuboforus*, which occurs at Vienna, *CIL. xii 1919*. Anubis seems to have had no separate worship here, but to have been honored with the other Egyptian gods,

<sup>13</sup> 21. Found also at Rome, *CIL. vi 3880 = 32464*.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted p. 39.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Marucchi, *Il Museo Egiziano Vaticano*, p. 313.

Inscriptions give no information as to the nature of the worship of Isis at Ostia. We do not even know certainly whether she was worshiped in her temple there as goddess of the sea. It is, however, probable that she was so worshiped, since this aspect of the goddess was common elsewhere, and since the annual festival of the Romans which emphasized this side of her cult was apparently celebrated at the harbor.

This state festival, known as *navigium Isidis*, marked the opening of the sea for navigation in the spring. It is recorded under the date March fifth in the *Menologia Rustica* and in the *Fasti Philocali*<sup>16</sup> and is frequently mentioned in the later literature of the Empire.<sup>17</sup> The most important part of the celebration was the launching of a ship dedicated to the goddess. While there is no direct evidence to enable us to determine where this festival took place, it is probable that the Romans celebrated it at the mouth of the Tiber. We have seen that they went to Ostia to sacrifice to Castor and Pollux as gods of the sea, and it is natural that Isis as goddess of the sea should also have been honored there. Compare Lyd. *De Mens.* iv 32. Τῇ πρὸ τριῶν Νωνῶν Μαρτίων ὁ πλοῦς τῆς Ἰσιδος ἐπετελείτο, ὃν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τελοῦντες καλοῦσι πλοιαφέσια· ἡ δὲ Ἰσις τῇ Αἰγυπτίων φωνῇ παλαιὰ σημαίνεται, τουτέστιν ἡ σελήνη· καὶ προσηκόντως αὐτὴν τιμῶσιν ἐναρχόμενοι τῶν θαλαττίων ὁδῶν. Apuleius gives us a very minute description of the celebration of this festival at Kenchreai.<sup>18</sup> A splendid procession of worshipers, initiates, and priests went to the sea, and there a beautiful ship, adorned with emblems of the goddess, was dedicated by the chief priest, laden with rich gifts, and launched. Apuleius describes the elaborate procession. It was led by women clad in white garments, some of whom

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *CIL.* i.<sup>2</sup> p. 311; Wissowa, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Lactant. i. ll. 21; Auson. *De Fer.* 24; Veget. iv. 39.

<sup>18</sup> Apuleius, *Metam.* xi. 8-17.

scattered flowers and balsam. Then followed a large number of devotees of the goddess, both men and women, carrying lamps and torches. Pipers and flute-players and a chorus of youths preceded the initiates. Temple attendants and priests of the goddess, bearing sacred symbols and images of the gods, completed the procession. We can imagine a similar celebration at Ostia.<sup>19</sup> The yearly recurrence of such a festival may account for the fact that more devotees of the Egyptian gods are known from the inscriptions of Ostia than from any other place. It is noteworthy that the image of Anubis was carried in the procession at Kenchreai. At Ostia the *Anubiaci* whose names we know probably carried the image on similar occasions.<sup>20</sup>

Additional evidence that Isis was regarded as goddess of the sea at Ostia is perhaps afforded by a small bronze lamp and a wall-painting. In the recent excavations near the baths a hanging lamp in the form of a ten-beaked ship came to light.<sup>21</sup> On its flat top are reliefs representing Isis, Sarapis, and Harpocraton. The lamp may have been a votive offering to the goddess. The wall-painting, which was discovered on the Via Laurentina just outside Ostia, represents Mercury standing beside a ship which is being

<sup>19</sup> Dieterich (*Sommertag*, p. 37) has made the interesting suggestion that a painting from a tomb near Ostia (now in the Vatican Library) may represent the *navigium Isidis*. Cf. Nogara, *Antichi Affreschi del Vaticano e del Laterano*, pp. 76-77, Pl. XLIX. The scene represents the preparation for a festival in which a ship is to be drawn on a cart by two boys. In the absence, however, of any of the distinctive emblems of the cult of Isis, it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion in the matter.

<sup>20</sup> According to Apuleius, ch. 17, after the launching of the sacred ship, the procession made its way to the temple of the goddess where prayers were said by a scribe of the *pastophori*—*principi magno senatuique et equiti totoque Romano populo, nauticis navibus quaeque sub imperio mundi nostratis reguntur*. The similarity of this prayer to the form of the records of *taurobolia* made by the *cannophori* has been noted above.

<sup>21</sup> *NS.* 1909, p. 119, Fig. 2; *Arch. Anz.* 1910, col. 180.



loaded, apparently with grain. At the stern are written the words (2028) *Isis Giminiana*, unquestionably the name of the boat, which may have been a river craft used for transporting grain from Ostia to Rome.<sup>22</sup> Names of gods who had no special powers over the sea were, however, so often given to ships that the name of this ship cannot be considered as strong evidence for the worship of Isis at Ostia as goddess of the sea.<sup>23</sup>

**Sarapis.** Greek inscriptions, two of which are certainly of the period of the Severi, prove the existence of a *Sarapeum* of considerable importance at Portus:

IG. XIV 914: 'Υπὲρ] σωτη[ρίας] . . . Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου(ν) Εὐτυχούς Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβ(αστοῦ) καὶ Ἰουλίας [Μαμαίας] Σεβαστῆς μητρὸς Σεβ(αστοῦ) Διὶ Ἠλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς Μ. Αὐρήλιος Ἦρων νεωκός τοῦ ἐν Πόρτῳ Σαράπιδος, ἐπὶ Λαργινίῳ Βευταλίῳ ἀρχιππηρέτῃ καὶ καμεινευτῇ καὶ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἐφήβῳ καὶ Σ[α]λωνίῳ Θε[ο]δότῳ ἱεροφάνοις καὶ καμεινευταῖ[ς κ]αὶ(?)τῇ ἱεροδουλείᾳ, ἀνέθηκεν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ. (On another side) ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ· ἐπὶ Γρανίου Ῥωμα[νοῦ?].<sup>24</sup>

*Ibid.* 915: Διὶ Ἠλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς τὸ κρηπίδειον, λαμπάδα ἀργυρᾶν, βωμοὺς τρεῖς, πολύλυχνον, θυμιατήριον ἔνπυρον, βάθρα δύο Α. Κάσσιος Εὐτύχης, νεωκός τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος, ὑπὲρ εὐχαριστίας ἀνέθηκεν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ. Permissu C. Nasenni Marcelli pontificis Volcani et aedium sacrarum et Q. Lolli Rufi Chrysidiani et M. Aemili Vitalis Crepereiani IIuir.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Now in the Vatican Library. Cf. C. L. Visconti, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1866, p. 323, Tav. d'Agg. T; Nogara, *op. cit.* Pl. XLVI.

<sup>23</sup> Lucian, *Πλοῖον ἢ εὐχαί*, describes a large grain ship called Isis, which had been blown from its course on the way from Alexandria to Rome, and had put in finally at the Peiraeus. The name Isis was also given to ships in the Roman navy, cf. E. Ferrero s. v. *classis*, Ruggiero.

<sup>24</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pert.* I. 389. The provenance of this inscription and of the following one is uncertain, but there is no reason for placing them under Ostia, as Kaibel and Cagnat do. They more probably come from Portus.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 390; *CIL.* XIV 47.

*Ibid.* 916: Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σ[αρ]άπιδι καὶ τοῖς συν[υ]νόοις θεοῖς τὸν θεοφιλέστατον πά[ππ]ον Μ. Αὐρ. Σαρ[α]πίων παλαιστῆς παράδοξος σὺν τῷ πατρὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Δη[μ]ητρίῳ τῷ [κα]ὶ [Ἀ]ρποκρα[τ]ίῳ, βο[υ]λευτῇ τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων εὐξάμενοι καὶ εὖ τυχόντες ἀνεθήκαμεν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ.—Χρυσάνθινα.<sup>26</sup>

*Ibid.* 917: <sup>27</sup> Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ ἐπανόδου καὶ αἰδίου διαμονῆς τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων Σεουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Ἰουλίας Σεβ(αστῆς) καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος αὐτῶν οἴκου καὶ ὑπὲρ εὐπλοίας παντὸς τοῦ στόλου τὴν Ἀδράστειαν <sup>28</sup> σὺν τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν κόσμῳ Γ. Οὐαλέριος Σερήνος νεοκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος, ὁ ἐπιμελητῆς παντὸς τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείνου στόλου, ἐπὶ Κλ. Ἰουλιανοῦ ἐπάρχου εὐθενείας.

*Ibid.* 919: Σερήνος Ξιφίδιος ὁ κράτιστος νεοκόρος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκα.<sup>29</sup>

*Ibid.* 929: Σερήνος νεοκόρος ἀνέθηκεν.<sup>30</sup>

*Ibid.* 921: Σερήνος ὁ πρεσβύτατος νεοκόρος ἀνέθηκα.<sup>31</sup>

Another *neocorus* of this temple is mentioned in the Latin inscription, probably from Portus: 188. [Dis mani-

<sup>26</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pert.* 381. Cf. Gatti, *Bull. com.* 1886, pp. 173-180. This inscription was found at Portus.

<sup>27</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pert.* 380. This inscription dates from 201 when Septimius Severus and his train returned to Syria from Egypt. It was found at Fiumicino.

<sup>28</sup> Usually written Adrasteia. She was a Phrygian goddess who from the time of Antimachos was identified with Nemesis. Cf. Tümpel, s. v. Adrasteia, Pauly-Wissowa. Nemesis was identified with Isis, especially at Delos. Cf. Drexler s. v. Isis, Roscher, cols. 543 ff. The statue dedicated to Sarapis by Serenus must have represented Isis as an avenging goddess. The only mention of Adrasteia in Latin inscriptions occurs in a dedication to the goddess (whose name is again written Adrastia) which Steuding s. v. Adrastia, Roscher, and Ruggiero s. v. refer to some local goddess. Since the cult of Nemesis existed in Dacia (cf. Rossbach s. v. Nemesis, Roscher, col. 139), it is more probable that Adrastia is here simply a name for Nemesis.

<sup>29</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pert.* i. 384. Found at Portus.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 391. Found at Ostia.

<sup>31</sup> Of uncertain origin, but probably from Portus. Quoted by Cagnat, s. 391.

bus] . . item leg. III I[tal. scribae]<sup>32</sup> aed. cur. sacerd. bidentali. neocori Iovis magni Sarap. Fundania P. f. Priscilla marito optimo et sibi fecit.

Dessau has proved from these inscriptions that the *Sarapeum* at Portus was modelled on the great sanctuary of the god at Alexandria.<sup>33</sup> It will be noticed that a senator from Alexandria made one of the dedications, and that Serenus, who seems to have been in charge of the Alexandrian fleet, was *neocorus*, apparently at Portus. The form of address of the god used in these dedications, Ζεὺς Ἥλιος μέγας Σάραπης,<sup>34</sup> and the title of the priests, νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος,<sup>35</sup> are identical with those that occur in the inscriptions of Alexandria. The title *ἱερόφωνος* is also found among the titles of the temple attendants of both sanctuaries.<sup>36</sup> Moreover the use of Greek in all the inscriptions relating to the *Sarapeum* at Portus, except in one sepulchral inscription, is most easily explained through the close relationship of the shrine at this harbor with the great Alexandrian temple. Shipmasters from Alexandria, who seem to have had entire charge of the transport of grain from Egypt to Portus, probably established and supported the *Sarapeum* there.<sup>37</sup> The many temple attendants indicate that the temple must have been very important in the early part of the third century.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>32</sup> This is the reading of Villefosse, quoted by Dessau, *EE.* ix p. 335.

<sup>33</sup> *Bull. dell'Inst.* 1882, pp. 152 ff. Cf. s. *CIL.* xiv 47, and Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, II. p. 279 and n. 2; Gatti, *l. c.*

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pert.* I. 1049, 1050 = *CIG.* 4683.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *IG.* xiv 1102-1104, for inscriptions of *neocori* of the Alexandrian shrine found at Rome.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *CIG.* 4864 = Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graecae inscriptiones selectae*, II. 699.

<sup>37</sup> Gatti, *l. c.* p. 176, believes that the *megaron* of Portus whose restoration by *Isiaci* is recorded was a part of the *Sarapeum* of Portus. However the use of Latin in the inscriptions militates against the view.

<sup>38</sup> A leg of a tripod made of red porphyry, found in the excavations of the Torlonia family, is now in the Museo Torlonia. According to

Dedications prove that Sarapis was worshiped at Ostia also. Two inscriptions in which he is addressed with Isis have been cited above. In the recent excavations between the baths and the theatre the following inscription was discovered: Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ θεῷ μεγάλῳ Σαράπει Π. Ἀκύλλιος θεόδοτος ὑγέρ (sic) Ἀχιλλίου Χρυσάνθους τοῦ υἱοῦ.<sup>39</sup> Since the form of address here differs from that quoted above, it is probable that this dedication belonged to a private shrine, rather than to the temple at Portus.

A statue or bust of Sarapis which stood somewhere near the sea in Ostia plays an important part in the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix. See II. 4. *Itaque cum diluculo ad mare inambulando litore pergeremus ut et aura adspirans leniter membra vegetaret, et cum eximia voluptate molli vestigio cedens harena subsideret, Caecilius simulacro Serapidis denotato ut vulgus superstitiosum solet, manum ori admovens osculum labiis impressit.* It will be remembered that it was this act of Caecilius which provoked the long argument on Christianity in the *Octavius*. Two busts of Sarapis, a very small one of bronze<sup>40</sup> and another of marble,<sup>41</sup> were found in recent excavations at Ostia.

**Bubastis.** A dedication to Isis and Bubastis set up by a *Bubastiaca* has been cited.<sup>42</sup> The latter goddess, honored here as elsewhere with Isis,<sup>43</sup> probably had no separate shrine at Ostia, though Ruggiero suggests that an inscription published among those of Rome which mentions a *sacerdos Bubastium* may be from Ostia.<sup>44</sup>

Visconti, busts of Isis and Typhon are represented on it. He makes the suggestion that it probably stood in the *Sarapeum* of Portus. Cf. C. L. Visconti, *Catalogue of the Museo Torlonia*, n. 20.

<sup>39</sup> NS. 1909, p. 86. *Année Épig.* 1909, n. 212.

<sup>40</sup> NS. 1908, p. 248.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* 1910, p. 63, Fig. 6, p. 64.

<sup>42</sup> 21 add.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *CIL.* III 4234.

<sup>44</sup> *CIL.* VI 2249. Cf. s. v. Bubastis, Ruggiero.



## SYRIAN GODS

Before the construction of the port of Trajan, the Syrians usually came to Rome by way of Puteoli where they had an important colony.<sup>1</sup> When, in the early part of the second century after Christ, the port of Trajan offered their merchants its spacious accommodations, the Syrians seem often to have found it more convenient to settle at Rome than at the port. In the case of the Tyrians definite evidence on this point is supplied by a letter which their citizens in Puteoli wrote to the mother city in 172 A. D.<sup>2</sup> From this letter we learn that the Tyrians had two warehouses in Italy, one at Puteoli and one at Rome, and that because of their decreasing numbers and wealth, the Tyrians at Puteoli were forced to ask assistance from their fellow townsmen in Rome, in order to pay the necessary rent for their warehouse.

This tendency of Syrian merchants to settle in Rome probably explains why comparatively few dedications to Syrian gods have been found at Portus, and none at all at Ostia, where their merchants must have come in large numbers. There is no definite evidence that a temple of any of their gods existed at either place, though it is not improbable that there was a temple of Marnas at Portus. A Syrian who was connected with a shrine of his native gods in Rome set up an inscription to Jupiter Heliopolitanus. A Roman soldier and a group of Roman mariners made dedications to Jupiter Dolichenus, the god of inland Comagenene, whose worship was naturally propagated by soldiers quartered in that region rather than by merchants. Dedications to Dea Syria are unknown at the port. Late evidence proves the celebration of the Syrian festival Maiumas here.

<sup>1</sup> Blümner, *Römische Privat-Altertümer*, pp. 624, 633.

<sup>2</sup> IG. XIV 830; *Inscr. Gr. ad res rom. pert.* I. 421. Dubois, *op. cit.* pp. 83 ff.

**Jupiter Heliopolitanus.** The following dedication was discovered in the excavations of the Torlonia family at Portus: 24. I. O. M. Angelo<sup>3</sup> Heliop(olitano) pro salute imperator. Antonini et Commodi Augg. Gaionas d. d. (dated 177-180 A. D. when Marcus Aurelius and Commodus were ruling together). This is certainly the same Gaionas who is mentioned in four inscriptions at Rome, two of which were found recently in the excavations of the shrine of Syrian gods on the Janiculum.<sup>4</sup> From these inscriptions

<sup>3</sup> The Latin word *angelus* as an epithet for a pagan divinity is found only here. Henzen (*Ann. dell'Inst.* 1886, pp. 135 f.) thought its use due to syncretism of Oriental religions. Wolff (*Arch. Zeit.* 1867, col. 55) saw the influence of Chaldean star worship in the epithet. A more satisfactory explanation is given by Drexler s. v. Heliopolitanus, Roscher, who compares it with the use of the Greek *ἄγγελος* in dedications to *Διὶ ὑψίστῳ καὶ Θεῷ ἄγγέλῳ*. Cf. *Bull. de Cor. Hell.* 1881, p. 182; LeBas-Waddington, *Inscr. d'Asie Mineure*, 416. Here *ἄγγελος* implies that the god is a bringer of good tidings. Cf. also Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, II. p. 1323, n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> These inscriptions are: 1) Gaionas' epitaph, *CIL.* VI 32316 (*IG.* XIV 1512, *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pert.* I. 235):

D(is) m(anibus) s(acrum)

ἐνθάδε Γαιωνᾶς, ὃς κίστιβερ ἦν ποτε Ῥώμης  
καὶ δέλποινς κρείνας πολλὰ μετ' εὐφροσύνης,  
καῖμαι (sic) τῷ θανάτῳ μηδὲν ὀφειδόμενος.  
Gaionas animula.

2) *CIL.* VI 420 = 30764 (*IG.* XIV 985, *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pert.* I 70). I. O. M. Heliopolitano Κομμόδῳ ἀνδρὶ βα[σι]λικ[ω]τ[άτῳ] ἀσπιστῇ [τῆς] οἰκουμ[ένης] Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Commodo Antonino Pio [*Felici Aug.*] Sarm. Germanic[o] trib. pot. x[i] imp. [viii. cos. V. p. p.] M. Antonius M. f. Ga[ion]as Clauc quip ..... cistiber dedic. v. c. [a. dcccc]xxxix Imp. Commodo A[n]ton[i]no Pio Felice Aug. V. M. Acilio Glabrione II. cos. III. k. Dec. (186 A. D.) Gaionas' full name is given only here.

3) A dedication found in the Villa Sciarra on the Janiculum, first published by Gauckler, *Comptes Rendus*, 1908, p. 525. (Cf. Nicole et Darier, *Mél.* 1909, p. 63): Pro salute et reditu et victoria imperatorum Aug. Antonini et Com(m)odi Caes. Germanic. principis iuvent. Sarmatici Gaionas cistiber Augustorum d. d. Gauckler, *Mél.* 1909, p. 243, published his version of the latter part of this almost illegible inscription, as follows: Iovi [opt(imo) max(imo)] Heliopolitano s... [v?]

it appears that Gaionas was a Syrian, and, judging from his devotion to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, perhaps a native of Heliopolis. He was probably a merchant who had settled at Rome. There he was *δειπνοκρίτης*, an office apparently connected with the sacred banquets of the Syrian gods in their shrine on the Janiculum. In time he was appointed *cistiber*, that is, one of the *quinque viri cis Tiberim*, a minor office instituted about 200 B. C. which is rarely mentioned. Gaionas, who seems to have been very proud of attaining this position, unimportant though it was, then made dedications to the gods of his native city on behalf of the welfare of the emperors under whom he held office. He made one of these dedications at Portus between 177 and 180.<sup>5</sup>

**Jupiter Dolichenus.** Two dedications to the god of Doliche were found at Portus: 22. Iovi Dolicheno pro salute imp. L. Aeli Aureli Comodi Pii Felicis Aug. N. L. Rubrius Maximus praef. eq. aīae Hisp. s. votum solvi. This inscription is dated 191-192 by the form of 'Commodus' name. 110. [Adnuent]e imp. Caes. Com[modo Antonino] Pio Felice sacr(um) qu[od] vox(erant) I(ovi) o(ptimo)] m(aximo) Dulic(eno) milit(es) el(assis) [pr(ectoriae) Mis(enatis) cum es]sent Ostia sub [cura]...ti Iusti tr(ier-

l. a. s. [Apro] iterum, Pollione iterum eos. He suggests that the first words may have been Iovi O. M. angelo Heliopolitano, as in the inscription from Portus.

4) An inscription on a block which probably served as a cover of a *θησαυρός* in the sanctuary of the Syrian gods, found in the Villa Wurts, adjoining the Villa Sciarra; published by Gauckler, *Bull. Com.* 1907, p. 57. Cf. Hülsen, *Röm. Mitth.* 1907, pp. 235 ff.:

Δεσμὸς ὅπως κρατερὸς θῦμα θεοῖς παρ[έ]χου  
δν δὴ Γαιωνᾶς δειπνοκρίτης ἔθετο.

<sup>5</sup>It seems impossible to connect this inscription with a departure of the emperors from Portus. Marcus Aurelius and Commodus returned from the East in 176, when they landed at Brundisium. On August 3, 178 they left Rome for the second German expedition, and Marcus never returned. There is no evidence that they went by way of Portus, and in fact their use of this route is improbable. The emperors seem to have remained in Italy from 176 to 178.

archi) VII. id . . . [Com]modo Aug. V. cos. [curam agente] Ter(entio?) Prisco<sup>6</sup> (186 A. D.). Both these inscriptions date from the reign of Commodus who showed this cult special favor.<sup>7</sup> It is apparent, however, that neither of these dedications was made by a permanent inhabitant of Ostia.

**Marnas.** The following inscription, said to have been found at Portus, seems to be the dedication of a statue of the emperor Gordian III, who had evidently shown special favor to the city of Gaza during his long stay in Syria: *IG. xiv 926*. Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ Ἀυτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ. Ἀντώνιον Γορδιανὸν Εὐσεβῇ Εὐτυχῇ Σεβαστὸν τὸν θεοφιλέστατον κοσμοκράτορα ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Γαζαίων ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος καὶ αὐτόνομος, πιστὴ [καὶ] εὐσεβής, λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλη, ἐξ ἐνκ[ε]λ[ε]ύσεως τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ τὸν ἑαυτῆς εὐεργέτην διὰ Τιβ. Κλ. Παπειρίου ἐπιμελητοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.<sup>8</sup>

The πάτριος θεός here mentioned is Marnas, the chief god of Gaza. There is no evidence other than this inscription for the existence of this cult anywhere outside of the Orient, and even there the worship does not seem to be widespread.<sup>9</sup> Preller infers from this inscription that there was a temple of Marnas at Portus.<sup>10</sup> The fact that the inhabitants of Gaza chose to erect the statue of their benefactor at Portus rather than at Rome would be most readily explained by the existence of a *Marnaeum* at the former place. In that case Ti. Claudius Papirius may have been ἐπιμελητής of the temple at Portus, though then we should naturally expect to find the words ἐν Πόρτῳ in the inscription.<sup>11</sup> Ti. Clau-

<sup>6</sup> This inscription is cited by Kan, *De Jovis Dolicheni Cultu*, Dissertation, Groningen, 1901, p. 89, and by Cumont s. v. Dolichenus, Pauly-Wissowa, as from Ostia. The restorations are Mommsen's.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Cumont, *l. c.*

<sup>8</sup> *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pert.* I. 387.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Drexler s. v. Marnas, Roscher.

<sup>10</sup> *Röm. Mythologie*. II.<sup>3</sup> p. 399.<sup>2</sup> Cf. Drexler, *l. c.* col. 2382; Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, p. 243, n. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *IG. xiv 914* νεωκόρος τοῦ ἐν Πόρτῳ Σαράπιδος.



dius Papirius is, however, more likely to be the name of a citizen of Ostia than of a citizen of Gaza. Since the latter city was a *civitas foederata* at the time of this inscription,<sup>12</sup> its inhabitants must have received citizenship under the Edict of Caracalla. We should therefore expect to find its citizens bearing the name Aurelius, and not Tiberius Claudius, which is not found in the indices to the Greek and Latin inscriptions of Syria. Claudius occurs in the indices only four times, while Aurelius occurs thirty times. Furthermore the indices of inscriptions from Syria do not contain the name Papirius, whereas the name occurs in Ostia (1448). The evidence does not, however, justify any definite conclusion on this point.

**Festival of Maiumas.** A popular festival known as *Maiumas* which seems usually to have been accompanied by considerable licentiousness was celebrated in various parts of the Orient, notably at Antioch.<sup>13</sup> Later emperors tried to control it, and at times forbade it entirely. Inasmuch as the harbor of Gaza was called *Maiumas*, which means 'water of the sea,' Stark suggested that the celebration originated there.<sup>14</sup> According to Suidas s. v. *Μαῖουμᾶς*, a festival of this name was held at Ostia: *πανήγυρις ἤγετο ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὸν Μάιον μῆνα. τὴν παράλιον καταλαμβάνοντες πόλιν, τὴν λεγομένην Ὀστίαν, οἱ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς Ῥώμης τελοῦντες ἡδυπαθεῖν ἠνείχοντο, ἐν τοῖς θαλαττίοις ὕδασιν*

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pert.* III 1212 (on a lead weight) *Κολωνίας Γάζης ἐπὶ Ἡρώδου Διοφάντου.* (on the side) *ιϛ.* Cagnat suggests that this inscription may be dated in the fifteenth year of the reign of Hadrian. He seems, however, to have overlooked the inscription from Portus which proves that Gaza was a *civitas foederata* in the time of Gordian III (238-244). It must have been made a colony later.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. articles *Maiumas* by Teuffel, Pauly, *Real Encycl.*; Drexler, Roscher; Saglio, Daremberg and Saglio. Cf. also Büchler, *Revue des Études Juives*, XLII, 1901, pp. 125 ff.; Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'arch. orientale*, IV, p. 339; Abel, *Revue Biblique*, 1909, p. 598.

<sup>14</sup> Stark, *Gaza*, pp. 596-598, quoted by Drexler *l. c.*

ἀλλήλους ἐμβάλλοντες. ὅθεν καὶ Μαῖουμᾶς ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐορτῆς καιρὸς ὠνομάζετο.

The connection of the festival with the month of May and with Maia is obviously a mistaken effort to explain the etymology of the word *Maiumas*,<sup>15</sup> for it is known that the celebration at Antioch took place in August. Teuffel,<sup>16</sup> who is followed by Drexler, doubts whether such a festival was known at Ostia. After recalling the evidence for the games in honor of Castor and Pollux there, Teuffel adds: "Vielmehr scheint Suidas und der Glossator diese ludi Tiberini wegen ihrer Ähnlichkeit mit einem syrischen Feste des Namens verwechselt zu haben und von hier aus auf seine Ableitung des Wortes und auf die Datierung in den Mai geführt worden zu sein."

It is, however, difficult to reconcile the unrestrained celebration described by Suidas with the festival in honor of Castor and Pollux, *ubi populus Romanus* — — *Castorum celebrandorum causa egreditur sollemnitate iucunda*.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, in view of the fact that intercourse with Gaza is proved for the time of Gordian III,<sup>18</sup> it seems not improbable that this Syrian festival was introduced at Ostia during the later empire. There is but very slight foundation for the unqualified statement of A. J. Reinach:<sup>19</sup> "La fête de Maïoumas s'est introduite à Ostie avec les adorateurs du

<sup>15</sup> Cf. also the Basilica glosses, cited by Drexler, *l. c.* Μαῖουμᾶς ἐορτὴ ἐν Ῥώμῃ etc. and Joh. Lyd. *De Mens.* iv. 52. Lydus is trying to explain the etymology of *Maius*: κατὰ δὲ τὸν τῆς φυσιολογίας τρόπον τὴν Μαῖαν οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εἶναι βούλονται· καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Σύροις βαρβαρίζουσιν οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὸ ὕδωρ προσαγορεύεται, ὡς καὶ μηϊουρι τὰ ὑδροφόρα καλεῖσθαι. *ibid.* iv. 53. Lydus is explaining that there is special danger of earthquakes in May: τιμῶσιν οὖν κατὰ τοῦτον τὴν Μαῖαν, τουτέστι τὴν γῆν θεραπεύοντες. μαῖουμῖζειν τὸ ἐορτάζειν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ μαῖουμᾶν.

<sup>16</sup> *L. c.*

<sup>17</sup> See discussion of Castor and Pollux.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *IG.* xiv 926.

<sup>19</sup> *Revue Arch.* xv. 1910, p. 49, n. 2. Cumont seems to agree, cf. *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, p. 243, n. 16.

Marnas de Gaza." As we have seen, the evidence does not suffice to prove the existence of a cult of Marnas at Ostia.<sup>20</sup>

#### MITHRAS

Toward the end of the first century of our era the conquests of the Flavian emperors in the interior of Asia Minor brought Rome into contact with a region in which the most important cult was that of the Persian god Mithras. The worship of this god spread rapidly through the Empire, until in the early third century he numbered more devotees than any other pagan deity. The cult of Mithras was propagated in the West chiefly by soldiers, slaves, and merchants. Recruits levied in the lands where Mithras reigned supreme or legionaries who had been quartered in those regions carried his worship to the most distant confines of the Empire.<sup>1</sup> Eastern slaves who were brought in large numbers to Italy and especially to Rome were zealous missionaries of Mithras and many of them continued to propagate his worship after they were freed. Asiatic merchants as well as slaves were instrumental in establishing the cult in the ports of the Mediterranean. It was known in the ports of Alexandria and Sidon in the East, and at Pola, Aquileia, Ostia, Antium, and Rusellae in Italy.<sup>2</sup> That evidence for the worship of Mithras is lacking at Puteoli is at least partially explained by the fact that the Oriental trade of that

<sup>20</sup> As Drexler *l. c.* has shown, the assumption of Preller, *Röm. Mythol.* II. p. 399, Mommsen, *Eph. Epig.* 3 p. 329, and Reville, *Die Religion der römischen Gesellschaft in der Zeit des Syncretismus*, p. 72, that Maiuma is a Syrian form of the goddess Venus is totally without foundation.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. however, C. H. Moore, *Distribution of Oriental Cults* in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 1907, pp. 142 ff. The author shows that soldiers were less prominent in spreading the cult of Mithras than has generally been supposed.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 64.

port decreased greatly after the construction of the ports of Claudius and Trajan.<sup>3</sup>

The form of the temple of Mithras or the *Mithreum* is distinctive. Unlike the Greco-Roman temple which was simply the house of the god, the *Mithreum* was a place where the faithful assembled to worship. The sanctuary was usually small, accommodating ordinarily about fifty people. Whenever the number of devotees exceeded the capacity of a *Mithreum*, a new one was built. It was often an underground chamber and was regularly divided into three main parts. A central portion or choir, usually about two meters wide, where probably the priests alone were permitted, was flanked on either side by raised benches or *podia*, the inclined surfaces of which were a meter to a meter and a half in width. Here the faithful probably knelt during worship. At the further end of the sanctuary there was always a sculptured group representing Mithras slaying the bull (Mithras Tauroctonos).<sup>4</sup>

At least six *Mithrea* are known to have existed at Ostia and Portus.<sup>5</sup> Only at Rome is there evidence for a larger number of shrines. Moreover the excellent preservation of the *Mithrea*, the Mithraic inscriptions, and the statues found at Ostia, and the early date of some of the monuments make the remains exceedingly valuable to students of the cult of Mithras. Probably the earliest *Mithreum* known is the one

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dubois, *op. cit.* p. 153.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, I. pp. 59 f.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch in his life of Pompey, c. 24, states that Romans were initiated into the mysteries of Mithras by Cilician pirates who had been conquered by Pompey. C. L. Visconti, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1864, p. 147, recalls Cicero's words (*De Lege Manil.* 12, 33) about the defeat of the Roman fleet by the pirates at Ostia and considers it probable that, after the successful termination of the war, the ships gathered at Ostia, where the soldiers and sailors may have introduced the worship of Mithras. There is nothing to support this view. Subsequent researches have shown that the Persian god could have had very few devotees in the West before the end of the first century after Christ.



near the *Metroum* at Ostia, which seems to date from the time of Hadrian. In another temple an inscription of 162 A. D. was found. Since, however, Mithraic inscriptions of an earlier date have been found at Rome, there is no reason to suppose that the cult at Ostia antedated that at Rome.

Inscriptions of Ostia give the names of *sacerdotes* and *antistites* of Mithras.<sup>6</sup> Some of these priests bear the titles *pater et sacerdos*, *pater et antistes*, which indicate that they had attained to the highest of the seven degrees of initiation in the cult.<sup>7</sup> The simple title *pater* is also of frequent occurrence. An initiate who had reached the fourth degree, that of *leo*, inscribed at Portus a list of the members of an association of worshippers of Mithras.

The Mithraic monuments found at Ostia prior to 1896 have received exhaustive treatment in the great work of Cumont: *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs au mystère de Mithra*.<sup>8</sup> The following discussion has therefore been confined to a brief summary of the most important finds in the individual *Mithrea*, together with a consideration of the inscriptions and other remains recently brought to light.

The temple discovered in 1867 about three meters from the northeast corner of the temple of Magna Mater is proba-

<sup>6</sup> Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 165, finds no distinction in the use of the two titles.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 152. Cf. W. J. Pythian-Adams, on *The Problem of the Mithraic Grades* in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1912, pp. 53 ff. The author attempts to show that there were only six grades in the Mithraic initiation.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. II, 1896, Vol. I, 1899. Vol. II contains texts, inscriptions, and monuments. Inscriptions 131-142, 560 a, b, c, d, e, monuments 79-85 bis; \*295 (cf. p. 523 supplement) are from Ostia and Portus. Vol. I contains an introduction and conclusions. For a summary of the material from Ostia cf. Vol. I, p. 265, n. 4. Cumont's conclusions, without the notes, have been published separately; English translation by T. J. McCormack: *The Mysteries of Mithra*, Chicago, 1903. In the following discussion, references are to the larger work if no title is given.

bly the oldest *Mithreum* in Ostia.<sup>9</sup> Its proximity to the temple of Magna Mater led Visconti to the conclusion that it was not a *Mithreum*, but was a shrine of the Phrygian gods which was used for initiations.<sup>10</sup> His view was not disputed until Cumont showed that the sanctuary was a *Mithreum*. The figures of the mosaic pavement of the central part of the shrine,<sup>11</sup> representing an old man with spade and scythe, a raven, a cock, a scorpion, a serpent, and a bull's head, Visconti tried to connect with Cybele and Attis. Cumont has shown, however, that the old man is probably Silvanus, who seems to have been identified with *Drvâspa* in the Mithraic religion,<sup>12</sup> and that the other figures of the mosaic are all well known in the cult of the Persian god. A beautiful head with a Phrygian cap found here, and now in the Lateran Museum, was thought by Visconti to represent Attis.<sup>13</sup> Cumont recognized in it a head of Mithras, probably from the group which stood at the end of the temple. The style of the head seems to date it in the time of Hadrian. A head of Sol, now in the Lateran, was also discovered in the *Mithreum*.

<sup>9</sup> Cumont, *Mon.* 295, pp. 414 ff., cf. p. 523. This shrine is listed by Cumont among *Monuments douteux*, although he seems not to doubt that it is a *Mithreum*. A plan of the temple is given by Cumont, II. Fig. 346; De Marchi, *Il Culto privato di Roma antica*, II. Tav. IV; Paschetto, *op. cit.* Fig. 109 (all after *Mon. dell'Inst.* VIII, Tav. LX.)

<sup>10</sup> *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1868, pp. 402 ff. Visconti called the temple a *sacrario metroaco* and believed that it was used for initiations into the cult of the Phrygian gods. He came to this conclusion the more readily because he believed that Mithras was worshiped in temples like those of other gods, as well as in the underground sanctuaries which were, he thought, for initiates only. De Marchi, *op. cit.* II. p. 153, does not seem to know Cumont's discussion of this shrine. Paschetto speaks of the shrine as a *Mithreum*, *op. cit.* p. 169, but on p. 375 he expresses doubt as to whether it is or not.

<sup>11</sup> Reproduced *Mon. dell'Inst.* I. c.; Cumont II. Fig. 347; De Marchi, *op. cit.* Tav. v; Paschetto, *op. cit.* Fig. 110.

<sup>12</sup> See discussion of Silvanus.

<sup>13</sup> *Mon. dell'Inst.* I. c., Cumont, II. Figs. 348 and 490. Cf. also Bendorff and Schoene, *op. cit.* no. 547; Helbig, *Führer*, I. no. 717.

Cumont believes that the proximity of this *Mithreum* to the *Metroum* indicates a close connection between the cults of Magna Mater and Mithras at Ostia. Indeed he thinks that the south wall of the *Mithreum* may be a continuation of the north wall of the *Metroum*, and that the two buildings were probably constructed at the same time. Further evidence for the relationship of the two cults he finds in the inscription of a priest, apparently of Mithras, discovered in the *schola* of the *dendrophori* adjoining the *Metroum*: 70. . . . d. d. M. Cerellio Hieronymo patri et sacerdoti suo, eosque antistes s. s. deo libens dicavit. With regard to other inscriptions found in the *schola*, Cumont adds: "les divinités dont les noms sont mentionnés sur d'autres pierres (Virtus, Mars, Silvanus, Terra Mater) étaient toutes honorées dans la religion mithriaque, tandis que toutes sauf la dernière, paraissent étrangères aux mystères des dieux phrygiens. . . . Deux des inscriptions des dendrophores sont datées des années 142 et 143 ap. J. C. La consécration du mithréum, dont la présence permet seule de comprendre ces dédicaces, est donc antérieure au milieu du II<sup>e</sup> siècle, ce qui concorde bien avec l'époque assignée par M. Visconti à la tête du prétendu Attis."<sup>14</sup>

Although there was undoubtedly a connection between the cults of Magna Mater and Mithras,<sup>15</sup> the evidence does not

<sup>14</sup> Cumont, II. p. 418. The inscriptions recording gifts of statues to the *dendrophori* (53, 69, 33, 70) are listed by Cumont among doubtful inscriptions. Cf. p. 475, nos. 560a, b, c, d, e. The occurrence of the title *mater* in 69 suggests to Cumont that there may have been at Ostia, as perhaps at Cologne, mysteries for women related to the mysteries of Mithras from which women seem to have been excluded. Cf. Cumont's note, II. p. 476, on inscr. 574b. Cumont does not mention 37, which records the gift of a statue of Attis to the *cannophori* by two people bearing the titles *pater* and *mater*. There seems to be no doubt that these titles were used in the cult of Magna Mater at Ostia, cf. discussion of Magna Mater. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*,<sup>2</sup> p. 369, n. 2, confuses the facts and states that the inscriptions bearing the dates 142 and 143 were found in the *Mithreum*.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Mysteries*, pp. 86 f., pp. 179 f.

justify Cumont's conclusion that the two cults were particularly closely related at Ostia. The proximity of the two temples proves nothing, for another *Mithreum* of Ostia was situated directly behind four small temples with which it seems to have no connection. It is by no means certain that the two temples were built at the same time. Furthermore, the occurrence of the title *pater* among the worshipers of Magna Mater at Ostia suggests the possibility that the *pater et sacerdos* whose inscription was found in the *schola* may have been a priest of Magna Mater.<sup>16</sup> But even if the inscription is Mithraic—and the double title so often found in the cult of Mithras is in favor of this view—it may not have been placed in the *schola* originally. We have seen that some of the other inscriptions found there probably came from places near by. Moreover, there is no reason to believe that the dedication of statues of Virtus, Mars, and Silvanus to the *dendrophori* indicates a connection with the Persian god. We know that the *dendrophori* had special reason for honoring Silvanus.<sup>17</sup> Mars and Virtus, though they seem to have been identified with gods of the Persian Pantheon,<sup>18</sup> are each mentioned only once in Mithraic inscriptions, if we may trust Cumont's indices. The epigraphical evidence for dating the *Mithreum* before 142 is then far from convincing, though the style of the head of Mithras and the character of the remains favor the date Cumont proposes.

In excavations near the Torre Bovacciana in 1860-1861 a *Mithreum* was discovered in the ruins of a building which is generally—without good reason—called the Palazzo Imperiale.<sup>19</sup> In this building are extensive ruins of baths which have sometimes been thought to be the baths of Antoninus Pius, known to have been restored by the second P.

<sup>16</sup> See discussion of Magna Mater.

<sup>17</sup> See discussion of Silvanus.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Cumont, I. pp. 143, 151.

<sup>19</sup> Cumont, Mon. 83, Inscr. 131-133. Visconti, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1864, pp. 147 ff. Tav. d. Agg. K.



Lucilius Gamala.<sup>20</sup> The date of a Mithraic inscription of the year 162 found here would be in accord with the identification of the baths. A niche of the pronaos of the temple was adorned with a mosaic representation of Silvanus,<sup>21</sup> which is now in the Lateran Museum. In the black and white mosaic pavement of the central portion of the interior is written twice the inscription (56): Soli inviet. Mit. d. d. L. Agrius Calendio. At the end of the sanctuary was an altar with the inscription (57): C. Caelius Hermacros antistes huius loci fecit sua pec. On each side of the central portion of the *Mithreum* there were bases which supported statues of the Mithraic torchbearers or *dadophori*.<sup>22</sup> Similar *dadophori* are represented in relief on the bases, on each of which occurs the inscription (58, 59): C. Caelius Ermeros antistes huius loci fecit sua pec. On the left side of one of these bases is the consular date 162 A. D. Marble fragments of a head with a Phrygian cap and of a right hand holding a knife found here belonged to the group of Mithras Tauroctonos which stood originally at the end of the shrine.<sup>23</sup>

One of the richest *Mithrea* of Ostia was the one discovered by the English painter Robert Fagan in 1797.<sup>24</sup> Its exact location is not known, but it seems to have been near Torre Bovacciana. We are told that it was entered through a long narrow corridor, and that its form was in imitation of a natural grotto. At the entrance was found a group representing Mithras Tauroctonos which is now in the Galleria

<sup>20</sup> *CIL*. xiv 376. For plan of the *Mithreum* cf. *Mysteries*, Fig. 16; *Mél.* 1911, Pl. v; Paschetto, *op. cit.* Fig. 119.

<sup>21</sup> See discussion of Silvanus.

<sup>22</sup> Cumont, II. Fig. 72, 74; *Mysteries*, Fig. 18.

<sup>23</sup> Visconti, *l. c.*, p. 159. Another statue of a *dadophoros*, now in the Lateran, seems also to have been found here. Cf. Paschetto, *op. cit.* p. 392, n. 3; Benndorf and Schoene, *op. cit.* n. 586.

<sup>24</sup> Cumont, *Mon.* 79-81, Inscr. 137-139; Visconti, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1864, p. 151; Zoega, *Abhandlungen*, Taf. v. n. 15, p. 146.

Lapidaria of the Vatican.<sup>25</sup> On the base of this relief is the inscription (64): Sig. indēprehensivilis dei L. Sextius Karus et G. Valerius Heracles sacerdos s. p. p. Within the shrine was found a white marble statue of the Mithraic Kronos, which is today at the entrance of the Vatican Library.<sup>26</sup> The figure, which has a lion's head and four wings on which are represented the signs of the seasons, is encircled six times by a serpent. On a projection of the base is the inscription (65): C. Valerius Heracles pat. et C. Valerii Vitalis et Nicomes sacerdotes s. p. c. p. s. r. d. d. idi. Aug. imp. Com. VI et Septimiano cos (190 A. D.). A bas-relief representing a similar figure of a Mithraic Kronos was also found here.<sup>27</sup> From this *Mithreum* probably came also the inscription (66): C. Valerius Heracles pat[e]r e[t] an[tis]tes dei iu[b]enis inconstituti So[l]is invicti Mithra[e]cryptam palati concessa[m] sibi a M. Aurelio. . . .<sup>28</sup>

A fragmentary bas-relief with Mithraic representations

<sup>25</sup> Cumont, II. Fig. 67; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.* I. p. 275, Gall. Lapid. 144b, Taf. 30.

<sup>26</sup> Cumont, II. Fig. 68, cf. Vol. I, pp. 92-93; *Mysteries*, Fig. 20; Paschetto, *op. cit.* Fig. 34.

<sup>27</sup> Cumont, II. Fig. 69; Paschetto, *op. cit.* Fig. 114.

<sup>28</sup> De Rossi wished to restore a M. Aurelio [*Commodo Antonino Aug.*] but Dessau's view that this M. Aurelius was perhaps a freedman or *procurator* of the emperor is much more probable. Carcopino, *Mél.* 1911, p. 219, notes that *palatium* would hardly be used of a private house, and that if this M. Aurelius was a *procurator*, the building of which the *Mithreum* was a part probably belonged to the emperor. He believes the *Mithreum* to be identical with the one discovered in 1860-1861 in the so-called Palazzo imperiale—"malgré l'apparente contradiction chronologique entre *CIL.* xiv 58-59 et *CIL.* xiv 65." He notes that the latter *Mithreum* did not contain a Mithraic bas-relief. As stated above, however, fragments of such a bas-relief were found there. Cumont has also suggested that the *Mithreum* discovered by Fagan may be identical with one mentioned by Visconti, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1868, p. 412, which could be seen "non molto lungi dai ruderi del teatro lungo una via fatta tracciare per recarsi dalla prima piazza dell'antica città verso il cosiddetto tempio di Giove." Cf. Cumont, II. p. 418, Mon. \*295 bis. This *Mithreum* is, however, connected by Paschetto (*op. cit.* p. 387) with the shrine found in 1802.

on it was also discovered by Fagan apparently at Ostia, and is now in the Museo Chiaramonti of the Vatican.<sup>29</sup>

A relief of *paronazzetto* representing Mithras Tauroctonos, now in the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican, was found at Ostia in the excavations of Pope Pius VII in 1802.<sup>30</sup> The circumstances of its discovery are not known, but it is probable that it was originally built into the wall at the end of a *Mithreum*. Above it was the inscription (60): A. Decimius A. f. Pal. Decimianus s. p. restituit, and below it (61): A. Decimius A. fil. Pal. Decimianus aedem cum suo pronao ipsumque deum solem Mithra et marmoribus et omni cultu sua p. restituit. At the same time were found: 62. L. Tullius Agatho deo invicto Soli Mithrae aram d. d. eanque dedicavit ob honore dei M. Aemilio Epaphrodito patre, and 63. M. Aemilio Epaphrodito patre et sacerdote.

Cumont has suggested that this *Mithreum* may be identical with the one discovered in a private house behind the four small temples in 1885-1886.<sup>31</sup> The fact that neither sculpture nor inscriptions were found in the latter supports the suggestion. This *Mithreum* is of great interest because of the mosaic representations which cover the central section and the *podia*. On the ends of the *podia* are the two *dado-phori*, on the sides the six planets, and on top the twelve signs of the zodiac. In the central pavement are represented a sacrificial knife and seven half circles which indicate the seven celestial spheres. "A Ostie, sept demi-cercles,

<sup>29</sup> Cumont, II. Mon. 85, Fig. 78; Museo Chiaramonti, no. 569; cf. Amelung, *op. cit.* I, p. 692. Taf. 74. According to Amelung, a fragment in the Cortile del Belvedere n. 105 belongs with this one. Cf. also Zoega, *Abhandlungen*, p. 150, n. 25, pp. 176 f., who states that the relief was found at Quadraro.

<sup>30</sup> Cumont, II. Mon. 82, inscr. 134-136. Paschetto, *op. cit.* Fig. 115. Amelung, *op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 274, Taf. 30.

<sup>31</sup> Cumont, II. Mon. 84. Fig. 77; Lanciani, *NS.* 1886, pp. 162 ff.; Schiørrenberg, *Jahrbücher des Vereins f. Alt. Fr. im Rh.* 84, pp. 249 ff.; Cumont, *Notes sur un temple mithriaque découvert à Ostie*, Gand, 1891; Paschetto, *op. cit.* pp. 394 ff. Figs. 120, 121.

dessinés dans le pavement du chœur, marquaient sans doute les stations où le prêtre s'arrêtait pour invoquer les planètes, figurées sur la paroi des bancs."<sup>32</sup>

A shrine which is of the usual type of *Mithreum* was uncovered in 1908 on the road which leads from the Via dei Sepolcri to the baths.<sup>33</sup> Here were found inscriptions to Jupiter Sabazis<sup>34</sup> and Numen Caelestis,<sup>35</sup> but no Mithraic inscriptions or sculptures. Vaglieri, believing that other Oriental cults may have had shrines similar to those of Mithras, suggests that this may be a *Sabazeum*. He points out that the cult of Mithras is known to have influenced that of Sabazis. But since there is no evidence that Sabazis was ever worshiped in a temple of this type, it seems more probable that the shrine is a *Mithreum*.

An obscure inscription found near the theatre seems to refer to a restoration of a *spelacum* or temple of Mithras. Cf. *NS.* 1910, pp. 186 f. Ma. Victori patri Aur. Cresces. Aug. lib. fratres ex speleo dilapso in meliori restauravit.<sup>36</sup> Two other inscriptions found recently, both fragmentary, may be dedications to Mithras.<sup>37</sup> One of them bears the consular date 107 A. D.

An inscription on an epistyle found at Ostia records the

<sup>32</sup> Cumont, I. p. 63.

<sup>33</sup> Vaglieri, *Comptes rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1909, pp. 184-191.

<sup>34</sup> *EE.* IX 439.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* 436. Vaglieri's suggestion, *l. c.* p. 191, that the Numen Caeleste (?) may be Mithras cannot be supported. The epithet *caelestis* seems never to have been applied to Mithras. See p. 93.

<sup>36</sup> Vaglieri can hardly be correct in his suggestion that this may refer to the presentation of a statue of Mars to the *fratres*, for in that case the inscription would have been worded differently. Mars was identified with a Persian god. Cf. Cumont, I. pp. 143 f.

<sup>37</sup> *EE.* IX 441, 463. For another fragment of the second inscription see *NS.* 1911, p. 283. Cf. also *EE.* IX 444 .... Guntas fecerunt de sua pecuni[a]. Vaglieri notes that the name Guntas is found in a Mithraic inscription of Rome.



dedication of a statue of Ahriman, the Mithraic evil spirit.<sup>38</sup> Cf. *EE*. ix 433; L]olliano Callinico patre [P]etronius Felix Marsus Signum Arimanium do. de. d.

Although no *Mithreum* has been discovered at Portus, inscriptions found there indicate the existence of at least one shrine.<sup>39</sup> A bronze tablet bears an inscription of a priest of Mithras: 403. Sex. Pompeio Sex. fil. Maximo sacerdoti Solis invicti Mi. patri patrum qq. corp. treiect. togatensium, sacerdotes Solis invicti Mi. ob amorem et merita eius. Semper habet. Above is represented a bust of Sol, on the right a *palera*, on the left a sacrificial knife. A marble vase found in the excavations of the Prince Torlonia bears the inscription (55): Invicto deo S[oli]. A head of Sol and a Mithraic *dadophoros* are represented on the vase. 286 gives an Album sacratio[rum] or list of members of a religious organization which is proved to be Mithraic by the titles *pater* and *leo* found in it.

#### OTHER SOLAR DIVINITIES

**Invictus Deus Sol.** A fragmentary dedication was discovered in the Via del teatro: *EE*. ix 440. [invicto] deo Soli [omnip]otenti . . . o. caelesti n[u]m[ini] p[raesenti] Fo[r]-tu[na]e Laribus Tut[ela]eque [sa]c[er] [Venera]ndus.

**Sol and Luna.** On a tile which was built into a wall at Portus is the inscription (4089.7): Ex officin. L. Aemili Iuliani Solis et Lunae sacerd. Since there is no other evidence for a temple of Sol and Luna at Portus or at Ostia, Iulianus may have been priest in some other place.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>38</sup> On Ahriman cf. Cumont, I. p. 139.

<sup>39</sup> Cumont, II. Mon. \*85 bis, Inscr. 140-142.

<sup>1</sup> In 404, which is so fragmentary that it is unintelligible, are the words in *Solis n(umero)*.

## SABAZIS

In a small shrine which was probably a *Mithreum* was discovered the inscription *EE. IX 439*: L. Aemiliu[s. . .]euse ex imperio Iovis Sabazi votum fecit.

## CAELESTIS

In the same shrine where an inscription to Sabazis was found,<sup>1</sup> the following dedication came to light: *EE. IX 436*. Numini c[ae]lesti P. Clodius [Fl]avius Venera[n]dus<sup>2</sup> VI vir [A]ug. somno monitus fecit. There seems to be no reason to doubt that this *numen Caelestis*<sup>3</sup> is the Dea Caelestis of Carthage, whose cult was fairly widespread. Vaglieri's suggestion that it refers to the Lydian Anaitis lacks support.<sup>4</sup> Two other cases of *numen Caelestis* certainly refer to the Carthaginian goddess.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the same man who set up *EE. IX 440*, in which the epithet *Caelesti* is used of some god.

<sup>3</sup> Vaglieri, *Comptes rendus*, 1909, p. 190, is probably wrong in taking *Caelestis* as an adjective here, and reading *numen caeleste* for the nominative form. *Caelestis* seems to be in apposition to *numen*.

<sup>4</sup> He would refer to Anaitis also the familiar inscription of the Capitoline, *NS. 1892*, p. 407. Cf. Frère, *Sur le culte de Caelestis*, *Rev. Arch.* x. 1907, p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> *CIL. VIII 8239*; *III 992*, cf. 993.

## CONCLUSION

The various points established by this study have been embodied in the discussions of the individual cults. It remains by way of conclusion to indicate the cults of the colony which were honored with temples and shrines, and to point to the circumstances which produced the peculiar religious aspect of the colony.

The temples known to have existed at Ostia and Portus are those of Vulcan, the Capitoline Triad, Castor and Pollux, Liber Pater, Venus, Fortuna, Ceres, Spes, the Genius of the Colony, Roma and Augustus, Magna Mater, Isis, and Sarapis. There were also shrines of Pater Tiberinus, of the emperors Vespasian, Titus, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, and Septimius Severus,<sup>1</sup> and numerous shrines of Mithras. Of the temples, that of Sarapis and, probably, that of Liber Pater were at Portus; all the others seem to have been at Ostia. Certainly one shrine of Mithras was in Portus.

The cult of Vulcan, of the Capitoline Triad, and of Castor and Pollux seem to have been established early in the history of Ostia. Vulcan was probably worshiped in this region even before the foundation of the colony and must have remained for a long time the chief god of the city. Evidence for his preëminence is found in the fact that the *pontifex* of Ostia was called *pontifex Volcani et aedium sacrarum*. The *Capitolium*, where the great Etruscan Triad of the Capitoline Hill in Rome was worshiped, existed as early as the year 199 B. C. The fact that Ostia was a citizen colony probably accounts for the establishment of this cult, which was perhaps under the direction of the state. The cult of Castor and Pollux at Ostia—the only place where

<sup>1</sup> There was also a shrine of several emperors in the barracks of the *vigiles*.

the Dioskuri are known to have been worshiped as gods of the sea—was also a state cult, established perhaps as early as the third century B. C. when Ostia first became a harbor of importance. An annual festival in honor of Castor and Pollux was celebrated by the Roman people at Ostia.

There is little evidence to show when other temples were established. The temple of Roma and Augustus was built during the lifetime of Augustus. The shrines of the individual emperors must have been built shortly after the death of each emperor. If Carcopino's very doubtful dating of *CIL*. xiv 375 be accepted, temples of Venus, Fortuna, Ceres, and Spes were built during the first years of the Empire. For the other cults there is no evidence that can be dated earlier than the second century after Christ.

During the second and third centuries of our era—the period from which most of our evidence for the religion of Ostia dates—the Orient was exerting a strong influence on the religious life of the Romans.<sup>2</sup> At Ostia this influence is especially strong. It is seen in the early establishment and great prominence of the cult of the emperors which had its origin in the East, as well as in the strength of the purely Eastern worships. The most important of these gods at Ostia were Magna Mater, Isis, and Mithras. The monuments of the cult of Magna Mater there are second only to those of Rome in importance. Inscriptions give evidence for more devotees of Isis and the other Egyptian gods at Ostia than at any other place. The earliest datable *Mithreum* is there, and more *Mithrea* have been found there than anywhere else except at Rome.

The special importance of Eastern cults at Ostia at this time is not surprising in view of the fact that the city was then perhaps the world's greatest port.<sup>3</sup> Thither came mer-

<sup>2</sup> See Carter, *The Religious Life of Ancient Rome*, chap. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Florus i. 1, 4. Ancus Marcius — — Ostiamque in ipso maris fluminisque confinio coloniam posuit, iam tum videlicet praesagiens animo futurum ut totius mundi opes et commeatus illo velut maritimo urbis hospitio reciperentur.



chants and mariners from the whole Mediterranean world. One would naturally expect to find in the port traces of the religious belief of these strangers, especially of those who came from the East. Both Oriental merchants and Romans who traded in the East were apparently instrumental in spreading the picturesque religions of the East. Thus the Egyptians who manned the grain fleet from Alexandria established at Portus a splendid *Sarapeum* modelled after the great temple at Alexandria. Here too traders from Gaza seem to have worshiped their native god Marnas, whose cult is not known elsewhere outside of the East.

But the presence of merchants and sailors by no means adequately explains the relative importance of the religions of the port. The Syrians, who formed the most important class of foreign merchants,<sup>4</sup> had very few shrines at Ostia. In fact Ostia was so near Rome that many of the passing foreigners apparently preferred to perform their devotions in the capital city<sup>5</sup> where there were splendid temples of their native gods. This is probably the reason that at Ostia there are far fewer inscriptions of Syrian and Phoenician gods than at Puteoli, which was much farther from Rome. Furthermore the cults of Magna Mater and Mithras which flourished so vigorously at the port were not fostered preëminently by seafaring people, nor is it possible that they were introduced in the colony directly from the East. In fact Magna Mater had long been worshiped at Rome, and Mithras, too, if we may rely on inscriptional evidence, was worshiped at Rome before he was known at Ostia. It would seem then that the relatively great importance of the Oriental cults at Ostia, as compared with other Italian municipalities, is to be explained by the nature of the

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pärvan, *Die Nationalität der Kaufleute im römischen Kaiserreiche*, pp. 110 ff.; Blümner, *Römische Privataltertümer*, p. 633.

<sup>5</sup> There is definite evidence that this was the case with the Tyrians. Cf. *IG*. xiv 830.

population of the city rather than by the presence of passing strangers.

Now the special conditions and the time of Ostia's growth best explain the nature of its population. During the Republic when the native cults were still respected, the colony was still relatively small, and its inhabitants were probably not wealthy enough to build magnificent temples. When, owing to the harbor improvements of Claudius and Trajan, the city began to grow, the native Roman gods had lost much of their hold upon the people. This loss was due in part to the skepticism which had spread throughout Italy, but also to the fact that the native stock of Italy, which might have supported the purely Roman cults, had dwindled greatly. The thousands who came to find employment at the docks, warehouses, and shops of the growing port must have been very largely ex-slaves and descendants of slaves of Oriental stock. This class of people had practically gained control of Rome's retail business even before our era, and were now rivalling the Oriental merchants in Italy's foreign trade.<sup>6</sup> Many of these people became members of the various *collegia* at Ostia, and often as *dendrophori* or *Augustales* obtained a position of importance in the community.

The cults of Magna Mater and of Mithras, and, to a lesser extent, that of Isis were then chiefly supported at Ostia, as was regularly the case elsewhere, by freedmen or descendants of freedmen of Eastern origin. Even though many of them may have abandoned their native religions during their life as slaves, they were by nature more inclined to the emotional cults of the East than to the more formal Roman worships. The great importance of these cults at Ostia is then to be attributed to the large proportion of such classes among the inhabitants of the colony.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Pärvan, *op. cit.* p. 39; Kühn, *De opificum Romanorum condicione privata*, Dissertation, Halle, 1910; Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, I,<sup>3</sup> p. 302.

These new religions did not entirely drive out the old.<sup>7</sup> The chief priest of the colony still continued to be called pontifex of Vulcan, and he had jurisdiction even over the temples of the foreign gods. Throughout the second century Roman knights and *decuriones* continued to hold the old priestly titles of *praetor* and *aedilis sacris Volcani faciundis, sodalis Arulensis, sacerdos geni coloniae, flamen*, and apparently were not numbered among the priests of the Oriental gods. Furthermore none of these priesthoods seem to have been held by priests of the Eastern gods. But as the worshippers of these cults grew in position and in wealth, they also lent dignity to the religions which they fostered. Hence during the later empire among the priests of Isis at Ostia was a man of senatorial rank. Thus the cults of the East which had long made a strong appeal to the masses became at last firmly established.

<sup>7</sup> It is not improbable that the strength of the Eastern cults at Ostia reduced the number of votaries of Vulcan. Certainly that god retained nothing of the hold on the inhabitants that Fortuna Primigeneia did at Praeneste or Hercules Invictus at Tibur.

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THE "CHANSON D'AVENTURE" IN  
MIDDLE ENGLISH

BY

HELEN ESTABROOK SANDISON

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Published by BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

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## PREFACE

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The following study, practically as it stands, was presented to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in May, 1911, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Beginning with an examination of the conventional narrative preface found in a number of the lyrics of Harleian ms. 2253 and the Vernon ms., it was soon extended to include a study of the whole group of Middle English lyrics possessing such a preface, and of the early French *chansons* whence they are derived. The results of that investigation are here set forth. The preliminary discussion of the French originals is based chiefly on the researches of Gaston Paris and M. Jeanroy, and on the collection of *chansons d'aventure* contained in Bartsch's *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen*; it stands as a mere summary of the chief points necessary to furnish a basis of comparison with the English derivatives, and makes no claim to exhaustiveness. The discussion of the Middle English development of the type is based on a group of one hundred and thirty-four lyrics, which seem, after careful consideration, to fulfil most thoroughly the formal requirements set by the French prototypes; these are classified in Appendix B in four groups, Amorous, Religious, Didactic, and Miscellaneous, with references to all known manuscript and printed sources for each poem. Twelve of the lyrics, which have not been printed elsewhere, so far as I know, appear in Appendix A. Appendix C presents a list of pieces cited, chiefly in the notes, as examples of *chansons d'aventure* dating later than 1550, or as examples of other Middle English types comparable in certain features to the *chanson d'aventure* type.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge my great obligations to



those who have assisted me in the preparation of this dissertation. To Professor Carleton Brown, of Bryn Mawr College, I am most indebted. He first suggested to me the subject of this investigation, and he has assisted me throughout my work by supplying many important references and helpful suggestions, by carefully criticising the dissertation in manuscript, and by going over the proof sheets. From his unfailing interest and enthusiasm I have received constant encouragement. I am also under obligations to Professor Upham, of Bryn Mawr College, who has kindly read the book in proof.

I take this opportunity also to express my gratitude for most generous assistance to the authorities of the British Museum, the Cambridge University Library, the Bodleian Library, and the College of Arms, to the magistrates of the Corporation of Tenterden, who allowed me to examine the oldest record book, to Lord Harlech, who very kindly sent the Porkington ms. to Oxford that I might there examine it and make transcripts from it, to Father William Bodkin, S. J., Rector of Stonyhurst College, who courteously provided me with a transcript from Stonyhurst ms. No. 23, and to the librarians of Columbia University and of Bryn Mawr College.

H. E. S.

BRYN MAWR, PA.,  
*April, 1913.*

## REGISTER OF ABBREVIATED TITLES

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[This register presents merely a selected list of titles referred to in the notes and the Appendices by abbreviated titles requiring explanation.]

- Bann. MS. Hunt. Club.*—*The Bannatyne Manuscript Compiled by George Bannatyne, 1568.* Printed for the Hunterian Club. Glasgow, 1873-1881.
- Bartsch.*—*Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen.* Herausgegeben von Karl Bartsch. Leipzig, 1870.
- Bartsch, Chrest.*—*Chrestomathie de l'Ancien Français, (VIIIe-XVe Siècles).* Par Karl Bartsch. Septième Édition, Revue et Corrigée Par A. Horning. Leipzig, 1901.
- Böddeker, Altengl. Dicht.*—*Altenglische Dichtungen des MS. Harl. 2253.* Herausgegeben von K. Böddeker. Berlin, 1878.
- Buke of the Howlat.*—*The Buke of the Howlat, in Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas.* Edited by F. J. Amours. Scot. Text Soc. Edinburgh and London, 1897, pp. 47 ff.
- Chambers, Med. Lyric.*—*Some Aspects of Mediæval Lyric.* By E. K. Chambers (in Chambers and Sidgwick, pp. 259 ff.)
- Chambers and Sidgwick.*—*Early English Lyrics, Amorous, Divine, Moral and Trivial.* Chosen by E. K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick. London, 1907.
- Chappell. Old Engl. Pop. Music.*—*Old English Popular Music.* William Chappell. New (revised) edition by H. Ellis Wooldridge. London and New York, 1893.
- Charles d'Orléans.*—*Poésies Complètes de Charles d'Orléans.* Par Charles d'Héricault. Paris, 1874.
- Child, Ballads.*—*The English and Scottish Popular Ballads.* Edited by F. J. Child. Boston and New York, 1882-1898.
- Deschamps.*—*Œuvres Complètes de Eustache Deschamps.* Publiées par le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire et G. Raynaud. Soc. des Anc. Textes Fr. Paris, 1878-1903.

- Dunbar, ed. Laing.—*The Poems of William Dunbar, now first collected.* With Notes, and a Memoir of his Life, by D. Laing. Edinburgh, 1834.
- Dunbar, Scot. Text Soc.—*The Poems of William Dunbar.* Edited by John Small. Introduction by Æ. J. G. Mackay. Scot. Text Soc. Edinburgh and London, 1893.
- Dyboski, *Bull. MS. 354.*—*Songs, Carols, and other Miscellaneous Poems, from the Balliol MS. 354, Richard Hill's commonplace-Book.* Edited by R. Dyboski. E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. ci. London, 1907.
- Flügel, *Engl. Weihnachtslieder.*—*Englische Weihnachtslieder aus einer Handschrift des Balliol College zu Oxford.* Mitgeteilt von E. Flügel. (In *Forschungen zur deutschen Philologie.* Festgabe für Rudolf Hildebrand. Leipzig, 1894, pp. 52 ff.).
- Flügel, *Neuengl. Leseb.*—*Neuenglisches Lesebuch nach den Handschriften und Ältesten Drucken.* Herausgegeben von E. Flügel. i. Band. *Die Zeit Heinrichs VIII.* Halle a. S. 1895.
- Furnivall, *Captain Cox.*—*Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books; or Robert Laneham's Letter.* Re-edited by F. J. Furnivall. Printed for the Ballad Society. London, 1871.
- Furnivall, *Early Engl. Poems.*—*Early English Poems and Lives of Saints.* Copied and edited by F. J. Furnivall. Published for the Philological Society. Berlin, 1862.
- Gude and Godlie Ballatis.*—*A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs Commonly Known as 'The Gude and Godlie Ballatis.'* Reprinted from the edition of 1567. Edited by A. F. Mitchell. Scottish Text Society. Edinburgh and London, 1897.
- Halliwell, *Early Engl. Misc.*—*Early English Miscellanies, in Prose and Verse.* Edited by J. O. Halliwell. Warton Club. London, 1855. (Texts from Porkington MS. 10.)
- Halliwell, *Lydgate's Minor Poems.*—*A Selection from the Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate.* Edited by J. O. Halliwell. Percy Soc. II. London, 1840.
- Halliwell, *Nugæ Poet.*—*Nugæ Poeticæ. Select Pieces of Old English Popular Poetry.* Edited by J. O. Halliwell. London, 1844.

- Haupt, *Fr. Volkslieder*.—*Französische Volkslieder*. Zusammen gestellt von Moriz Haupt und aus seinem Nachlass Herausgegeben. Leipzig, 1877.
- Henryson, Scot. Text Soc.—*The Poems of Robert Henryson*. Edited by G. G. Smith. Scottish Text Society. Edinburgh and London, 1906, 1908.
- Herrig's *Archiv*.—*Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*. Braunschweig, 1846 to date.
- Hymns to V. and C.*—*Hymns to the Virgin and Christ, The Parliament of Devils, and other Religious Poems, Chiefly from the Archbishop of Canterbury's Lambeth MS. No. 853*. Edited by F. J. Furnivall. E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 24. London, 1867. [Reprinted 1895.]
- Järnström, *Rec. de Chansons Pieuses*.—*Recueil de Chansons Pieuses du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*. Publiées par E. Järnström. I. Helsingfors, 1910. Imprimerie de la Société de Littérature Finnoise.
- Jeanroy, *Chansons*.—*Les Chansons*. Par Alfred Jeanroy. Ch. v, vol. 1 of *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française*. Publiée sous la direction de L. Petit de Julleville. Paris, 1896-1899.
- Jeanroy, *Origines*.—*Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen-Age*. Par A. Jeanroy. Paris, 1889. [Second edition, 1904.]
- Laing, *Early Pop. Poetry*.—*Early Popular Poetry of Scotland and the Northern Border*. Edited by D. Laing [under the titles, *Select Remains*, etc., and *Early Metrical Tales*, etc.] in 1822 and 1826. Re-arranged and revised by W. C. Hazlitt. London, 1895.
- Laing, *Select Remains*.—*Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland*. Edited by D. Laing, 1822. Re-edited by J. Small. Edinburgh, 1885.
- Lydgate, ed. MacCracken. *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*. Edited by H. N. MacCracken. Part 1. *The Lydgate Canon; Religious Poems*. E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. cvii. London and Oxford, 1911.
- Minor Poems Vernon MS. II.*—*The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* Part II. Edited by F. J. Furnivall. E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 117. London, 1901.



- Neilson, *Court of Love*.—*The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*. By W. A. Neilson. *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, vi. Boston, 1899.
- Padelford, XVI. *Cent. Lyrics*.—*Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*. Edited by F. M. Padelford. Belles-Lettres Series. Boston and London, 1907.
- Parducci.—*La Canzone de "Mal Maritata" in Francia nei Secoli XV-XVI*. A. Parducci. *Rom.* xxxviii. pp. 286 ff.
- Paris, *Chansons*.—*Chansons du XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle*. Publiées par G. Paris. Soc. des Anc. Textes Fr. Paris, 1875.
- Paris, *Origines*, i, ii.—*Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France au Moyen Age*. Gaston Paris. (Review of Jeanroy's *Origines*, appearing in four installments: i. *Journal des Savants*, 1891, pp. 674 ff., 729 ff. ii. *Ibid.*, 1892, pp. 155 ff., 407 ff.)
- Parl. of Thre Ages.—*The Parlement of the Thre Ages, an Alliterative Poem of the XIV<sup>th</sup> Century*, edited with appendices containing the poem of Wynnere and Wastoure, by I. Gollancz, Roxburghe Club. London, 1897.
- Patterson, M. *Engl. Pen. Lyric*.—*The Middle English Penitential Lyric. A Study and Collection of Early Religious Verse*. By F. A. Patterson. New York, 1911.
- Percy Folio MS.—*Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript. Ballads and Romances*. Edited by J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall. London, 1867-1868.
- Pillet.—*Studien zur Pastourelle*. A. Pillet. (In *Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie*. Breslau, 1902.)
- Pinkerton, *Anc. Scot. Poems*.—*Ancient Scottish Poems Published from the MS. Collections of Sir Richard Mailland*. [Edited by John Pinkerton.] London, 1786.
- Polit. Relig. and Love Poems.—*Political, Religious, and Love Poems from the Archbishop of Canterbury's Lambeth MS. No. 306 and Other Sources*. Edited by F. J. Furnivall. E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 15. London, 1866. Re-edited 1903.
- Pollard, XV. *Cent. Prose and Verse*.—*Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*. With an Introduction by A. W. Pollard. (An English Garner.) New York, n. d.

- Ramsay, *The Ever Green*.—*The Ever Green. Being A Collection of Scots Poems, Wrote by the Ingenious before 1600.* Published by Allen Ramsay. Edinburgh, 1761.
- Raynaud, *Motets*.—*Recueil de Motets Français des XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles.* Publiés par G. Raynaud. Paris, 1882, 1884.
- Reed, *Engl. Lyr. Poetry*.—*English Lyrical Poetry from its Origins to the Present Time.* By E. B. Reed. New Haven and London, 1912.
- Rel. Ant.—*Reliquiæ Antiquæ. Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts, Illustrating Chiefly Early English Literature and the English Language.* Edited by T. Wright and J. O. Halliwell. London, 1845.
- Rickert, *Carols*.—*Ancient English Christmas Carols, MCCC to MDCC.* Collected and arranged by Edith Rickert. The New Medieval Library. London and New York, 1910.
- Rimbault, *Little Book*.—*A Little Book of Songs and Ballads, Gathered from Ancient Musick Books, MS. and Printed.* By E. F. Rimbault. London, 1851.
- Ritson, *Anc. Songs*.—*Ancient Songs and Ballads from the Reign of King Henry the Second to the Revolution.* Collected by J. Ritson. Third Edition Carefully Revised by W. C. Hazlitt. London, 1877.
- Rom.—*Romania, Recueil Trimestriel Consacré a l'Étude des Langues et des Littératures Romanes.* Paris, 1872 to date.
- Scheler, *Dits et Contes*.—*Dits et Contes de Baudouin de Condé et de Son Fils Jean de Condé.* Publiés par A. Scheler. Bruxelles, 1866-1867.
- Schipper, *William Dunbar*.—*William Dunbar. Sein Leben und Seine Gedichte.* Von Dr. J. Schipper. Berlin, 1884.
- Sibbald, *Chron. Scot. Poetry*.—*Chronicle of Scottish Poetry; from the Thirteenth Century to the Union of the Crowns.* J. Sibbald. Edinburgh, 1802.
- Skeat, *Chauc. Pieces*.—*Chaucerian and Other Pieces.* Edited by W. W. Skeat. Oxford, 1897. Supplement to the *Oxford Chaucer*, 1894.

- Stimming, *Die Motette*.—*Die Altfranzösischen Motette der Bamberger Handschrift*. Herausgegeben von A. Stimming. Gedr. f. d. Gesellsch. f. rom. lit. Bd. XIII. Dresden, 1906.
- Thurau, *Der Refrain*.—*Der Refrain in der französischen Chanson*. G. Thurau. *Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, Heft XXIII. Berlin, 1901.
- Turnbull, *Visions of Tundale*.—*The Visions of Tundale; Together with Metrical Moralizations and Other Fragments of Early Poetry, Hitherto Inedited*. [Edited by W. B. D. D. Turnbull.] Edinburgh, 1843.
- Twenty-six Poems*.—*Twenty-Six Political and Other Poems from the Oxford MSS. Digby 102 and Douce 322*. Edited by J. Kail. Part I. E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 124. London, 1904.
- Wright, *Songs and Ball*. Roxb. Club.—*Songs and Ballads, With Other Short Poems, Chiefly of the Reign of Philip and Mary*. Edited by T. Wright. [Roxburghe Club.] London, 1860. (Texts from ms. Ashmole 48.)
- Wright, *Songs and Carols*, 1836.—*Songs and Carols, Printed from a Manuscript in the Sloane Collection in the British Museum*. Edited by T. Wright. London, 1836. (Twenty texts from Sloane MS. 2593.)
- Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Percy Soc.—*Songs and Carols, Now First Printed, from a Manuscript of the Fifteenth Century*. Edited by T. Wright. Percy Soc. XXIII. London, 1847. (Texts from ms. Bodl. Engl. Poet. e. 1.)
- Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Club.—*Songs and Carols from a Manuscript in the British Museum of the Fifteenth Century*. Edited by T. Wright. [Warton Club.] London, 1856. (Texts from ms. Sloane 2593.)
- Wright. *Spec. Lyr. Poetry*.—*Specimens of Lyric Poetry, Composed in England in the Reign of Edward the First*. Edited from ms. Harl. 2253, by T. Wright. Percy Soc. iv. London, 1842.
- Wynnere and Wastoure. Cf. *Parl. of Thre Ages*, above.

## I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. THE *Chanson d'Aventure*: DEFINITION OF THE TYPE

The prevailing seriousness of early English poetry is notably lightened at the beginning of the fourteenth century by a group of lyrics,<sup>1</sup> many of which celebrate the theme that "lenten ys come wiþ loue to tounē." Among them a certain type of song insistently challenges our attention,—the type in which the poet tells us that as he fared on a spring morning through the forest, or as he rode by Rybbesdale, he met a "wel feyr" maid to whom he straightway offered his devotion. Sometimes he relates that, as he rode, his heart was filled with love-longing for a Maiden, his joy and his "beste play," who was able "þurh hire bysechyngē" to bring him to the bliss of heaven. The precedent set by these early wayfarers is not disregarded. Lovers-errant are silent, it is true, during more than a century after the day of the Harleian manuscript; but in the meantime their devout brothers continue to tell of divine events in which they have some share; one woos the blessed Virgin, in the guise of a bird, in the forest, and another watches the Maiden-mother lulling her little Son. In the same period sermonizing adventurers are even more numerous. A fourteenth century clerk passing by a woodside hears a bird discoursing on amends-making; a successor in the fifteenth

<sup>1</sup> Harl. ms. 2253, c. 1310, ed. Bøddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.*



century listens to an old man's sombre disquisition on worldly vanity. The clerks, in fact, hold the monopoly in these woodland adventures until Tudor times, when they make way for worldly poets who listen in the wilderness to the laments of love-lorn Besse or of a lady fallen from royal grace.

These short narratives are always introduced by phrases that are manifestly conventional.

Als i me rode this endre dai  
o mi [pleyinge],

is the formula used by a poet who hears the sad love-song of a little maiden.

Ase y me rod þis ender day  
by grene wode to seche play,

are the words with which Mary's devout adorer begins his song. The sermon on amends is prefaced by the obviously mendacious remark:

Bi a wode as I gon ryde  
Walkyng al miself alone.

The form that is the common inheritance of all these lyrics has two distinguishing features: the poet introduces himself by means of a short narrative preface; he pretends that he himself witnesses or participates in the action that he reports. The songs are therefore narrative and dramatic. They are at the same time lyric in form and in spirit, with the exception of those modifications that employ the conventional setting merely as formal preface to didactic themes.

An adequate name for so complex a form is not easy to find. Though French scholars have recognized the framework as a common feature of two different types of Old French lyric,<sup>2</sup>—the *chanson dramatique* and the *pastourelle*,

<sup>2</sup> Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 9, 84 ff.; *Chansons*, pp. 348, 352.

—they have not suggested any term to designate the single category to which both types, by virtue of that framework, belong. The only available term is that recently proposed by Chambers.<sup>3</sup> In his review of the Middle English lyrics and their French sources, he suggests that the French poems in question be called *chansons d'aventure*,<sup>4</sup>—a phrase which he subsequently applies to the analogous poetic forms in England. For the type as a whole, the name is appropriate, in that it not only indicates the peculiar combination of narrative and dramatic with lyric elements, but also emphasizes the adventure, which is a structural essential. In the case of the English poems the employment of a foreign term is perhaps less satisfactory; but no English equivalent exists, and “*chanson d'aventure*” defies translation into a convenient English phrase. The aptness and convenience of the French term accordingly outweigh the single objection that may be urged against it. Moreover there is a certain advantage in a constant reminder that the origin of the English form is to be found among the lyrics composed over-sea.

## B. THE *Chanson d'Aventure* IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE

The foreign songs echoed by the Middle English *chansons d'aventure*<sup>5</sup> appear in Northern France during the twelfth

<sup>3</sup> *Med. Lyric*, p. 266.

<sup>4</sup> This use of ‘*chanson d'aventure*’ is to be distinguished from the occasional employment of the same phrase to designate the long roman *d'aventure*; e. g., *Florence de Rome*, ed. Wallensköld, *Soc. des Anc. Textes Fr.*, title-page.

<sup>5</sup> The relationship of the English songs to the French has often been noted; cf. Aust, Herrig's *Archiv*, LXX. p. 286; Lauchert, *Engl. Stud.* XVI. pp. 140 ff.; Padelford, *XVI. Cent. Lyrics*, pp. xxxvi ff.; Chambers, *Med. Lyric*, pp. 274 f.; Patterson, *M. Engl. Pen. Lyric*, pp. 37 ff.; Reed, *Engl. Lyr. Poetry*, Ch. II; etc.

century.<sup>6</sup> They speedily achieve a high popularity; their prime is already past, their period of elaboration, modification, and decline is already well on its way, by the beginning of the fourteenth century,—the time at which the English derivatives first appear in the manuscripts. But the tradition represented by the French songs persists; it is continued by Froissart, made use of by Deschamps and Charles d'Orléans, and echoed among the popular songs of the fifteenth and succeeding centuries.

The French lyrics of adventure possess certain affinities with popular song, and are in fact based upon it, as Gaston Paris has demonstrated.<sup>7</sup> The themes—the love-lament of a young girl, the happy talk of meeting lovers—preserve *motifs* characteristic of folk-poetry; further evidence for a connection with primitive popular song exists in the predominance given to the woman's point of view in the portrayal of love, and the insistence on the joy of returning Spring found in some of the refrains and echoed even in the stereotyped setting. The framework that encloses these originally popular themes is, nevertheless, clearly the contribution of professional poets. The *jongleur* was probably the first to adopt the songs from popular tradition and to embellish them with a narrative prelude in which he himself appeared; from him the convention passed to the *trouvère*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup>The summary view of the French *chansons d'aventure* is based on Jeanroy, *Origines and Chansons*, and Paris, *Origines*, all *passim*. For the *pastourelle*, cf. particularly Pillet; for the late development of the *chanson de mal mariée*, Parducci.

<sup>7</sup>The theory that the ultimate origin of all French lyric poetry is in the songs sung in Poitou and Limousin by women at the popular *fêtes de mai* may be accepted with some reservation as far as it concerns the *chansons d'aventure* (which belong to the so-called *poésie populaire*) whether or not for the *chanson courtoise*; cf. Bedier, *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, cxxxv. pp. 160 ff.; Voretzsch, *Einführ. in d. Stud. d. altfr. Lit.* pp. 188-196; Warren, *Mod. Philol.* ix. p. 469; Reed, *Engl. Lyr. Poetry*, p. 25.

<sup>8</sup>The *trouvère* occasionally prefaces the *chanson d'aventure* with the

The enthusiasm with which these conscious artists adopted the form is probably attributable in part to the pleasure which they obtained from mingling in pretense with the denizens of a humbler world before whom they might exploit their greater sophistication.

The manner in which the French poet ushers himself upon the scene is traditional. As a rule he mentions the day, usually *l'autrier* or *l'autre jour*,<sup>9</sup> and the hour, regularly near dawn;<sup>10</sup> he names or suggests the season (almost always *le douz tens nouvel*), often investing it with much grace:

En mai la rosee que nest la flor,  
que la rose est bele au point du jor.<sup>11</sup>

conventional opening, characteristic of the courtly *chanson d'amour*:

Au nouviau tens que nest la violete  
par mi les bos et mainte autre florete  
sospris de novele amor  
vueil faire chanconete;  
si la ferai sans sejour  
cortoise et mignotete.  
avant ier au point du jor.  
.  
errai ma sentelete (III. 45).

Cf. also I. 46; cf. I. 66, III. 52, I. 52, end. (The reference to French texts in this note and those following are to Bartsch, unless otherwise indicated.)

<sup>9</sup> In approximately half of the *chansons d'aventure*. Frequent variants: *avant hier*, etc., I. 48, 43, II. 50; *un jour*, etc., II. 17; *par un matin*, etc., I. 70. In later adaptations: *n'a pas long temps*, etc. (Deschamps, III. pp. 47, 56, 345, X. p. lxxii; Charles d'Orléans, II. p. 168); also definite week-days or feast-days (I. 34, III. 59 and 60, Froissart; Deschamps, X. p. lxxvii, III. p. 251; cf. *le premier jour de mai*, I. 69, III. 29, Charles d'Orléans, I. p. 79, II. pp. 122, 214); *awen*, III. 57 (Froissart); *un jour de l'autre semaine*, III. 44 (Moniot de Paris); *ceste année presente*, Charles d'Orléans, I. p. 120 (and cf. II. p. 169). Descriptions of the day are rarely added; cf. III. 23.

<sup>10</sup> *A l'ajornee, un petit devant le jor*, etc.; Bartsch, p. xiii, I. 38. Less definitely *par un matin, main*, etc., I. 64, II. 105. A later hour is sometimes implied; cf. I. 61, etc. Instances of evening encounters are rare; cf. I. 48, II. 28, I. 23, and Raynaud, *Motets*, I. p. 178, where *au serain* contradicts *par I main*; *Vieux Noël's*, Nantes, 1876, III. 90 (*l'autre nuit*); Haupt, *Fr. Volkslieder*, p. 126.

<sup>11</sup> II. 62. The month is usually May (I. 27; *Rom.* VIII. p. 336); less



He appears <sup>12</sup> alone, <sup>13</sup> riding, or less often walking, <sup>14</sup> by a wood or along a meadow-side, <sup>15</sup> *lons de gent*; <sup>16</sup> he is *pensis*

often April (I. 30 a, b, 39, II. 21, 112, III. 8, 25); rarely *aoust* (III. 25, II. 73; Deschamps, III. p. 62). The season is indicated by *le tens novel*, *le comancement d'este*, etc. (I. 46, II. 24; cf. II. 22); more pedantically (in an early religious parallel, Bartsch, *Chrest.* p. 62): *Quant li solleiz converset en leon, en icel tens qu'es ortus pliadon*. Summer is rare (cf. I. 21, l. 20, I. 52, II. 24, 105); winter is substituted (II. 17, 23, III. 1) to vary a trite convention, not to fit the mood of the poem. When the season is described, there is usually some suggestion of Spring's power to bring joy and the longing to love (II. 22), to move birds to song (II. 15), and to bring forth tender grass and buds (I. 46); but later texts tend to prosaic elaboration (cf. III. 25, and Deschamps, III. p. 62: *Ou moys d'aoust qu'om soye les fromens*).

<sup>12</sup> *Quant je (me) chevauchois, si com j'aloie pansant* (I. 49, 39) represent one formula, but the simple preterite (*chevauchai*, I. 39) is much more common. Sometimes the poet's presence is first indicated by the verb that introduces the encounter (*oi, vi, trouvai, choisi*, I. 27, 36, 48, 50) or the poet's approach (*vois la veoir*, III. 51; cf. II. 57). (*Me*) *levai* replaces (II. 12) or more commonly introduces (I. 38) the verb of motion.

<sup>13</sup> *Tot seus, senz compaignie*, etc., I. 49, 37.

<sup>14</sup> He definitely alludes to his riding in more than half the *chansons*. Most often he uses the verb *chevauchai*; frequently he mentions the horse (*cheval, palefroi, morel*) from which he dismounts (I. 40) and which he ties to a tree (II. 18, 58). Substitutes for *chevauchai* are *aloie, aloie errant, erroie* (I. 44, III. 4, I. 42) and *traversai, alai les (un bouchet)*, etc. (I. 65, II. 50). The use of these verbs (as also *oi, vi*, etc.) does not necessarily imply that the poet is not riding; cf. I. 65, III. 36, where the horse is mentioned, and II. 8 (*m'alai chevalchant*). An inactive poet is rare: cf. I. 61 (*ere, oi*), I. 27 (*oi, m'assis, m'i endormi*), I. 52.

<sup>15</sup> The scene is almost never *en mi forest* (II. 28). Cf. the frequent use of *lez, joste, pres, defors* (I. 39, II. 11, 75); *lons l'oriere de l'aunoi* (II. 49; cf. III. 2, 12, II. 111, I. 64); *entre un bois et un pre* (II. 105, cf. II. 22). The scene is often the *bois* (II. 11), *bois ki verdoie* (II. 46), but more often the *boschel*, etc. (II. 22, 48, III. 36); *vergier*, I. 29 (even *en mi forest*, II. 28); *jardin*, I. 30 a, etc.; *rozier*, I. 70. The forest is very rare; cf. I. 65, II. 28, and the symbolic *forest d'Ennuyouse Tristesse*, Charles d'Orléans, I. p. 82; cf. I. p. 120 and II. pp. 163-169.—For *prael*, cf. II. 20; *un pendant*, etc. (infrequent), II. 2, 63, I. 46, III. 2, 40; *un vaucel*, etc., (infrequent)

*chief enclin*<sup>17</sup> or, somewhat less frequently, *dedusant, juant*,<sup>18</sup> and has come forth to seek distraction:

jouer m'en aloie.<sup>19</sup>

When he chanches <sup>20</sup> to catch a glimpse of a fair shepherdess

II. 73, III. 15, 43, 58; *le rivage d'une riviere*, I. 39, or *une fontenele*, I. 63, etc. Less definite designations of place are: *ma voie* or *chamin* (II. 6, I. 42); *par une contree*, etc. (III. 3, 25; not frequent). Place-names and land-marks appear, the former frequently; cf. *dehors Paris* (I. 69), *sur la rive de Saine* (I. 68), *entre Biaulieu et la nueve abeie* (I. 65; cf. I. 33, II. 3).—Even in the religious and moral adaptations the scene is in *pree* (Bartsch, p. xiii) or *boscage* (*Rom.* VIII. p. 336). The only allegorical settings are the forests of Charles d'Orléans and his school (cf. references in this note and add, *En la chambre de ma pensée*, I. p. 133).

<sup>16</sup> II. 33; cf. II. 54, III. 28, 37, and the *destor*, II. 18.

<sup>17</sup> II. 4, III. 7; cf. I. 21, 27 and *passim*. The self-conscious *trouvère* is much occupied in these prefaces with his feelings. His pensiveness is often caused by love, I. 44; it is thus explained in I. 51: *pensant a un chant que je fis*; it is spoken of as habitual in II. 33 (*pencis com suis sovent*). Often it has no ostensible cause. (The love-soliloquy in *chanson d'aventure* form is throughout explanatory of the announced mood.) In some cases sad spirits stand in contradiction to other details of the prelude (I. 69, II. 53); in others they fail to appear even though the selection of a gloomy season might lead us to expect them (II. 17, 23, III. 1). Plainly the poet's pensiveness is traditional.

<sup>18</sup> I. 72, II. 53. Cf. *per grant druerie*, etc., I. 33, II. 92, 111.

<sup>19</sup> I. 49; the expression is formulaary. Cf. also *deporteir, deduire, esbanoier, resjoir, pour passer temps* (II. 53, 13, 43, 64; Raynaud, *Rondeaux . . . du XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, p. 147). Other expressions of motive are: *por oblier ma dolor et por alegier, por moi dedurre et soulaicier* (I. 38, 70); *por oir les chans de ces oxillons* (II. 2; cf. I. 29), *por la verdor* (I. 61; cf. I. 30 a, b), *coillir la flor* (I. 38; cf. I. 73). The quest is sometimes definitely amorous; cf. the poet who would *faire novele amie*, II. 78 (cf. I. 44). Sometimes it is aimless: cf. *chevauchai . . . comme aventure gent maine* (III. 44; cf. II. 92, 111; Stimming, *Die Motette*, p. 90, no. 19 a).

<sup>20</sup> The chance nature of the encounter is invariably implied, seldom expressed; cf. *vi par aventure* (II. 19, III. 41). Sometimes the poet, on the watch for diversion, notices the amorous song of the *rosignox* before he chanches to see the *pucelete* or *dame* and *chevelier* (I. 52, 70).

or a *dame*<sup>21</sup> who sits *tote soule*<sup>22</sup> under a tree,<sup>23</sup> or to hear a bit of her song,<sup>24</sup> his adventure has begun. His preliminary action is pre-ordained for him; like all his brother-poets, he must pause, giving himself time to observe and perhaps to describe the woman's beauty.<sup>25</sup> He may then approach, secretly or openly, the better to see or to hear.<sup>26</sup> When he greets her in God's name,<sup>27</sup> when he plies her with questions,—who is she, and why does she sing?<sup>28</sup>—he is sometimes rebuked for his impertinence, but is more often courteously

<sup>21</sup> The central figure is regularly a woman, usually a shepherdess (II. 15, III. 23; *Perrenelle, Ermenjon, touse, pucele*, II. 1, 13, 10, I. 29) but frequently *dame, damoiselle*, etc. (I. 44, 70). There may be two or three women (I. 48, 21), or a woman and her husband or lover (I. 35, 63), or a *pastor* or *chevalier* by substitution (II. 54, I. 61).—In religious adaptations appear Mary or the Cross (Bartsch, p. xiii, *Rom.* VIII. p. 336), the latter being the only instance known to me of an inanimate object as central figure. Symbolic figures (*le deu d'amor*, etc., I. 30 b, II. 2) and birds, notably the *rosignolet* (I. 27, etc.), appear.

<sup>22</sup> II. 18; *sanz compaignon*, etc. (II. 17, 28).

<sup>23</sup> The kind of tree is usually specified; cf. *desoz un pin*, etc. (I. 29, II. 28, and cf. Pillet, pp. 97, 101). But cf. *soz la raime, soz une arbroie*, etc. (II. 65, I. 37). The place is *en un pre, an un destor, pres d'un voie* (I. 21, 41, II. 22, 23). Occasionally the person met is wandering: *aloit joie menant* (II. 61).

<sup>24</sup> The person met usually sings. The song often constitutes the recurring burden (II. 56: *Robin tureleure Robinet*), sometimes prefixed (I. 45). In I. 27 the burden, *saderala don*, etc., is suggested by the nightingale's song, though it is not certainly intended to represent it. The girl weeps or guards her flock (II. 14). She never "comes riding." (The fanciful maiden of I. 28, who *chevauchoit une mule*, is not the heroine of a *chanson d'aventure*; the *deu d'amors* in I. 30 b rides).

<sup>25</sup> II. 50, 31, 45. The description, usually very brief, but sometimes more elaborate, presents the traditional *euz vairs, cler vis*, etc.; the poet never saw a fairer (II. 15) and is rejoiced at her beauty (I. 50; so Gautier de Coincy, Bartsch, p. xiii; sadness follows the sight of the Cross, *Rom.* VIII. p. 336).

<sup>26</sup> Secretly, I. 65; openly, I. 49. *Vois la veoir*, III. 51, cf. II. 63; *por oir sa dolor*, I. 61. Very often the *chevalier* seats himself near the *pastore*, II. 18.

<sup>27</sup> II. 40, I. 68.

<sup>28</sup> II. 59, 7.

received.<sup>29</sup> In this manner he leads up to the action that he has chosen to present.<sup>30</sup>

The type of action presented furnishes the basis for distinction between the two main kinds of *chanson d'aventure*,—the *chansons dramatiques* and the *pastourelles*.<sup>31</sup> The themes

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *fuies de ci*, III. 13. (When she would flee, she is forcibly detained, II. 15).—*Deux grant joie vos dont*, I. 46, etc.

<sup>30</sup> Many settings, especially those of less primitive type, omit one or more of the features just reviewed; often they retain no echo of the early theme of earth's *renouveau*:

L'autrier une pastorele  
trovai seant en un pre (III. 17),

or,

L'autrier quant me chevalchoie  
tout droit d'Arraz a Doai  
une pastoure trovoie (III. 32).

II. 67 opens with the song of a *pucelete*, followed abruptly by, *Vers la touse m'avance*; cf. III. 51:

L'autrier pastoure soit  
lone un buisson.  
.  
.  
.  
.  
.  
.  
Quant je l'oi gaimenter  
vois la veoir.

Cf. also II. 3, 57; and the *ballade* of Guillebin de Lannoy (sæc. xv. beg.), *Rom.* XXXIX. p. 357: *L'autrier une dame entendy*.

<sup>31</sup> The term *chanson dramatique* (used by Jeanroy, *Origines*, and Chambers, *Med. Lyric*) covers the same subdivision of *chansons d'aventure* as Paris's phrase, *chanson à personnages* (cf. Paris, *Origines*, I. p. 681). Neither term is wholly satisfactory, inasmuch as the *pastourelle* may be properly described as a "dramatic lyric," or a song in which the action of *personnages* is reported. The name *chanson dramatique* has, however, become firmly associated with the definite type in question; it seems the wiser course to adopt it, reserving *chanson à personnages* to denote the whole class of objective *chansons*, including *chanson d'aventure* (*chanson dramatique* and *pastourelle*), *aube*, *chanson d'histoire*, etc. (So Aubry, *Trouvères et Troubadours*, p. 34.) It is unwise to use *chanson de mal mariée* as synonymous with *chanson dramatique*—cf. Padelford, *XVI. Cent. Lyrics*, p. xxxvi—since the song of the *mal mariée* furnishes the theme for but one type of *chanson dramatique*, and since it sometimes exists quite independent of the



that characterize the former class betray a closer connection with popular poetry than does the *pastourelle* theme. Either a woman's monologue forms the kernel of the *chanson dramatique*,<sup>32</sup> or a dialogue or scene in which the woman's part is usually dominant,<sup>33</sup> or—in a small group standing somewhat nearer than the ordinary *chanson d'aventure* to the primitive *chanson de mai*—the song of the nightingale in praise of springtime and love.<sup>34</sup> In the *chanson dramatique*, moreover, the poet's rôle has not been so far extended that it is essential; it is that of silent witness, casual questioner, or officious counsellor,<sup>35</sup> but never that of chief actor.

The variety of *chanson dramatique* in which the poet overhears the lament of a young girl repeats a very primitive theme of French lyric poetry.<sup>36</sup> The form in which the woman longing for love makes her plaint:

amie sui senz ami,

suggested by a few early *chansons dramatiques* and a number of refrains and later *chansons*,<sup>37</sup> is much less frequent than that in which the forsaken maiden laments:

framework of the *chanson dramatique*.—*Chanson dramatique* is here taken to include all *chansons d'aventure* in which the poet is primarily only observer and narrator,—i. e., all that are concerned with love-laments, love-dialogues, rustic scenes, etc.; the term *pastourelle* is limited to the "classic type" in which the poet plays the wooer; cf. Paris, *Origines*, I. pp. 730, 734 ff.; Pillet, pp. 122 ff.

<sup>32</sup> I. 51.

<sup>33</sup> I. 45, II. 53, 112.

<sup>34</sup> I. 27, 30 a, 66; cf. I. 29, 30 b, 52.

<sup>35</sup> I. 42, II. 54, I. 43, 61.

<sup>36</sup> *Pastorelle* (III. 38), *dame* (I. 40, 43), etc. Monologues of happy love are not found among the *chansons d'aventure*; but cf. a suggestion of the theme of successful love, III. 33, 37, II. 115.

<sup>37</sup> I. 40, II. 24. Cf. Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 182 ff. In the fifteenth century *chansons* the girl's demand is more definite than in the earlier pieces; cf. *S'ils ne me marient, ils s'en repentiront*, and *Ma mère, je veuæ Robin*, etc. (*ibid.*, p. 185).

dieus, j'ai perdu mon amiet.<sup>38</sup>

Sometimes the deserted girl expresses grief and jealousy because her wooer, who has vowed loyalty, has abandoned her; sometimes she frankly alludes to her betrayal.<sup>39</sup> Now and then she casts reproach upon the false lover:

or mais en soit pais  
il est mauvais.<sup>40</sup>

Often she allows the *chevalier* to console her.<sup>41</sup> Occasionally the lover himself tardily appears, with the result that the lament receives a happy ending.<sup>42</sup>

The most common form of *chanson dramatique* centers about the song of the *femme mal mariée*, who protests, in the season sacred to love, against her loveless union with a *vilain*.<sup>43</sup> The mutinous spirit of her lament has in it something of the *naïveté* of folk-song; the immorality of her rebellious outcry:

honis soit maris ki dure plus d'une mois!<sup>44</sup>

is not conscious and deliberate. Though the poets look upon the mismated woman with a slightly ironic smile,<sup>45</sup> they do not compose their *chansons de mal mariée* as satires,

<sup>38</sup> I. 43.

<sup>39</sup> I. 43, II. 7.

<sup>40</sup> III. 38; cf. III. 6 (ll. 44-45), 19 (ll. 22-24).

<sup>41</sup> III. 19. Beginning as a maiden's lament, the poem is thus converted into a *pastourelle* by the intrusion of the poet-wooer; cf. II. 7, 67.

<sup>42</sup> II. 112; cf. I. 33, 34 (by the lover's entry rendered transitional to the love-scenes).

<sup>43</sup> The *femme* is usually a *dame* (I. 42), but at times a *pastourelle* (II. 27) or merely a *belle et jouene* (I. 54). Though she is obviously not a noble *dame* of the *chevalier's* class (witness his disrespectful treatment of her) she feels herself superior to the *vilain* (I. 38, 42) and worthy of an *ami gent* (I. 39).

<sup>44</sup> II. 27.

<sup>45</sup> I. 36, 47. (Cf. I. 43, lament of a forsaken girl, ll. 45-46.)

serious or comic, directed either against the dissatisfied wives or against marriage as an institution.<sup>46</sup>

Five types of *chanson de mal mariée* are distinguished by Paris:<sup>47</sup> the poet listens to (1) the woman's uninterrupted lament, (2) her dispute with her husband, (3) her interview with her lover, (4) her interchange of grievances with one or more *confidentes*, (5) her lament, which he interrupts with advice or consolation.<sup>48</sup> Among the fifteenth century songs appears a variation, the protest of a prospective *mal mariée*, a girl about to be wedded to an unwelcome husband.<sup>49</sup>

The attitude of the woman, in all these types, presents certain conventional features. The *mariée de novel*<sup>50</sup> rebels against her husband as a *vilain*, a *jaloux*, who spies upon her, beats her, does not fulfil her desires;<sup>51</sup> she thinks with regret of her wasted youth and good spirits;<sup>52</sup> she rejects his loathed possession of her, for which her parents are responsible,<sup>53</sup> and utters defiance:

. . . vilains, donee  
suix a vous, se poice mi;  
mais par la virge honoree,  
pues ke me destraigneis ci,  
je ferai novel ami,  
a cui qui voist anuant.

<sup>46</sup> In the fifteenth century songs the spirit of comedy, burlesque, and satire is more evident; cf. Parducci, nos. 2, 3, 14, etc. (These songs of the *mal mariée* are often not *chansons d'aventure*.)

<sup>47</sup> *Origines*, I. p. 682.

<sup>48</sup> When he offers his love in consolation, the situation is converted into that typical of the *pastourelle* (cf. I. 64; Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 92).

<sup>49</sup> Parducci, nos. 1, 7, 11. The *genre* stands midway between the *chanson de jeune fille* and the *chanson de mal mariée*.

<sup>50</sup> I. 21, 45.

<sup>51</sup> I. 47, 41, 45; Paris, *Chansons*, nos. 119, 121; Parducci, no. 13.

<sup>52</sup> I. 51, Parducci, no. 13. The unmarried girl prefers care-free pleasures to the burdens, restrictions, and economies of the married state; nos. 1, 7.

<sup>53</sup> I. 42, l. 5, I. 64; Paris, *Chansons*, no. 121.

moi et li irons juant;  
si doublerait la folie.<sup>54</sup>

She does not stifle the wish for the husband's death:

li jalous  
envious  
de cor rous  
morra.<sup>55</sup>

She expresses these rebellious thoughts as frankly to the husband <sup>56</sup> as to herself or to her lover; <sup>57</sup> or she confides them to a companion, who is usually a woman older than herself, more extreme in her hatred of the *mari salvage*, and more expert in outwitting him.<sup>58</sup> In one instance <sup>59</sup> three <sup>60</sup> *mariées de novel* are assembled, gaily garlanded, *en un pre lons un destour*; the prying poet hears the youngest singing in misguided innocence:

je servirai mon mari  
lealment en leu d'ami,

whereupon the eldest in anger rebukes her, would even strike her, and cries:

je ferai novel ami  
an despit de mon mari,

and *la moienne* sings:

<sup>54</sup> I. 45. With *ferai novel ami*, cf. I. 21, 36, 39; also I. 35, l. 11, I. 48, l. 20; etc.

<sup>55</sup> I. 51. Cf. I. 38, l. 71; Parducci, no. 4, cf. no. 7; also the fragment from an English MS., *Anglia*, xxx. p. 174.

<sup>56</sup> I. 35.

<sup>57</sup> I. 38.

<sup>58</sup> I. 67, 39.

<sup>59</sup> I. 21.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. the *troys dames* in a late song suggestive of the *chanson de mal mariée*, and the *troys jeunes damoiselles* in a late echo of the *pastourelles*: Paris, *Chansons*, nos. 88, 21. The usual number is two; cf. I. 36, 47, 48; Parducci, no. 2.



s'on trovast leal ami  
ja n'eusse pris mari.

The place of the lamenting *fille* or *mal mariée* is taken in modified forms by the lover<sup>61</sup> or the husband, the *mal marié*.<sup>62</sup> In such cases the poet, though he may be mere reporter, usually offers thoroughly conventional advice.<sup>63</sup>

Less commonly the author of the *chanson dramatique* overhears not a lament, but a dialogue between two lovers.<sup>64</sup> In such cases the *ami* is usually a secondary figure, taking a comparatively inconspicuous part,<sup>65</sup> or by a belated entrance transforming into an amorous dialogue what bids fair to be a maiden's monologue or a *chanson de mal mariée*, or perhaps even a *pastourelle*. In the so-called *pastourelles objectives*<sup>66</sup>—which may be classed as *chansons dramatiques* inasmuch as the poet does not play the wooer—the poet observes scenes of rustic merrymaking or discord. In these scenes traces of the predominance of the woman's part are still discernible.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>61</sup> A *chevalier*, lamenting estrangement from his *dame* caused by *li cuivert jangleor* (I. 61), or a *pastor*, bewailing the inconstancy of his shepherdess (II. 54), or the stern interference of her mother (III. 2). Sadness caused by the lady's death appears only in the *ballade* of Charles d'Orléans, I. p. 82. In III. 33 happy Robin advises the sad poet.

<sup>62</sup> Parducci, no. 10; cf. no. 3.

<sup>63</sup> III. 16, I. 61.

<sup>64</sup> Usually shepherdess and shepherd; sometimes *damoisele* and *chevalier* (I. 63).

<sup>65</sup> III. 37, etc., in which the girl is the first to be introduced and described. Cf. the *ballade*, *sæc.* xv. beg. (*Rom.* xxxix. p. 357), which consists wholly in the reproaches of a *dame* to her *compaignon*, a silent auditor. The *débat* evenly divided between two interlocutors (cf. Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 13 ff., 50 ff.) does not appear among the *chansons d'aventure*. (II. 47 lacks the customary *début*.)

<sup>66</sup> Paris, *Origines*, I. pp. 733 f.; Pillet, 125. The term is variously applied; usually to a scene enacted by a group of shepherds, but sometimes to any *chanson dramatique* with shepherd actors; cf. Jeanroy's list, *Origines*, p. 42.

<sup>67</sup> II. 57, III. 29, etc.

The small and somewhat isolated group of *chansons dramatiques* in which the enraptured poet listens to the spring-song of nightingale or lark bears recognizable impress, as has been said, of its popular origin. But the naïve celebration of springtime and of love usually gives place to the formulas of the *chanson courtoise*; the nightingale is wroth that he has been overheard by a *vilain*, he woos a fairy-like maiden in the terms of a courtier, he advises the poet to be loyal in love, and inveighs against *trahitour et mesdisant*.<sup>68</sup> Only the burden that accompanies the song of the aristocratic nightingale retains something of the popular note:

saderala don!  
tant fet bon  
dormir lez le buissonet.<sup>69</sup>

The *pastourelle* is the most strictly defined and the most widely represented form of *chanson d'aventure*. In it the aristocratic character of the convention is most obvious. The poet invariably chooses for himself a principal part; as a courtly *chevalier* <sup>70</sup> he plays the wooer to a shepherdess.<sup>71</sup> He dwells with evident zest upon the gulf between his world and hers. *Je suis fils a chastelain*, he boasts to the girl whom he addresses as *pastorelle*, and who responds with *biaz dous sire* or *chivaliers*; <sup>72</sup> he alludes to her poor garments; <sup>73</sup> he disparages her faithful Robin:

queus est amors d'un bregier  
qui ne set fors que mengier

<sup>68</sup> I. 27, 29, 52, 66.

<sup>69</sup> I. 27.

<sup>70</sup> In II. 59 the narrator, addressed as *sire*, speaks of himself as *li clers*.

<sup>71</sup> A *dame* or *damoiselle* is treated as is the heroine of the ordinary *pastourelle* in certain songs (I. 44, 46, 50, 52; *dame mal mariée*, I. 64, 69) described by Jeanroy (*Origines*, p. 92) as *chansons dramatiques* that have adopted the commonplaces of the *pastourelle*.

<sup>72</sup> II. 25.

<sup>73</sup> III. 43.

et garder pors et aigniaus?  
 bele, laissies ses aviaus,  
 si vos tenes as damoisiaus.<sup>74</sup>

He urges his suit only as the amusement of an idle hour, and when interrupted or denied, can depart without chagrin, confiding to the reader, like Thibaut de Navarre, *n'oi cure de tel gent!*<sup>75</sup>

His narrative proceeds like that of a hundred other wooers. After he has listened to the song of the shepherdess<sup>76</sup> he abruptly offers his love.<sup>77</sup> When persuasion proves necessary, he offers gifts (*robes et biax joiaus assez*, or *boursele*<sup>78</sup>), he promises high station (*dame seras d'un chastel*<sup>79</sup>), he flatters her,<sup>80</sup> abuses her shepherd lover,<sup>81</sup> pleads for pity,<sup>82</sup> assures her—falsely enough, as the event proves—of his sincerity.<sup>83</sup> The girl, even if she has greeted him courteously, often makes a show of fear or anger at his proposal, and asks him why he intrudes.<sup>84</sup> She offers against him an array of arguments:

certes fole seroie  
 se je Robin laissoie  
 por vos ke me lairies demain.<sup>85</sup>

She cares for Robin only, and not a whit for him;<sup>86</sup> therefore he wastes his words.<sup>87</sup> She lays on him the command, *ne moi gabaz*,<sup>88</sup> or,

<sup>74</sup> III. 18.

<sup>75</sup> III. 4.

<sup>76</sup> The woman's lament is given marked prominence in certain *pastourelles*; cf. II. 7, 67.

<sup>77</sup> II. 20, 34 (*je vostre amin serai*).

<sup>78</sup> II. 18, 71.

<sup>79</sup> III. 1.

<sup>80</sup> II. 9.

<sup>81</sup> III. 18, 19.

<sup>82</sup> II. 38 (*mercit vos pri, ou je morrai*).

<sup>83</sup> III. 18.

<sup>84</sup> II. 3, 18 (*Sire, que querez vos ca?*)

<sup>85</sup> II. 16; cf. II. 45, III. 1.

<sup>86</sup> II. 17 (*je n'ai de vostre amor cure*).

<sup>87</sup> III. 14 (*vostre parole gastez*). <sup>88</sup> II. 13.

teneis vostre voie  
aillors quereis aventure,<sup>89</sup>

and declares:

. . . j'aim miex povre deserte  
sous la foille od mon ami  
que dame en chambre coverte;  
si n'ait on cure de mi.<sup>90</sup>

Or, more humbly, she urges that she is but a poor maiden, who would do no honour to such a gentleman as he,<sup>91</sup> that she is too young, and in danger of a mother's beating should she accept a lover;<sup>92</sup> if Robin should find her with the new-comer, she would certainly be shamed.<sup>93</sup> But in spite of all this protest, the girl usually yields, often quite willingly,<sup>94</sup> sometimes only when forced to do so.<sup>95</sup> She accepts her defeat with shame soon banished, or even with satisfaction;<sup>96</sup> she almost never demands amends.<sup>97</sup> In a minority of *pastourelles* her resistance is both sincere and effective; in one she calls on the mother of God to aid her:

'ce ne vaut deus noiz,'  
fet ele, 'ancois m'ocirroz.'  
et dist 'douce mere de,  
gardez moi ma chastee.'<sup>98</sup>

<sup>89</sup> II. 16; cf. *ales vostre voie*, III. 12, II. 50.

<sup>90</sup> III. 1.

<sup>91</sup> II. 3; cf. II. 13.

<sup>92</sup> II. 34.

<sup>93</sup> II. 14.

<sup>94</sup> II. 38.

<sup>95</sup> II. 62. Cf. II. 1, III. 4. The *dénouement* is often reported with explicitness. In I. 52 (varying also in setting from the norm) the action is checked, after the customary offer and an encouraging response, by a prolonged description of the girl; the closing strophe is in the manner of courtly song (*chanconete, tu iras*, etc.). In II. 63 the girl turns away and joins her lover as soon as she sees the poet dismount and approach her.

<sup>96</sup> II. 6, I. 44; cf. II. 62.

<sup>97</sup> II. 6 (*aves me vos guilee? . . . non ferai, ainz m'avrois espousee*).

<sup>98</sup> III. 25; cf. Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 21, n. 2: "Il n'y a un vrai senti-



The wooer in this instance, though angered, shows her some respect; too often he is ready to ride away, taking his success or failure, her delight or grief, as a light jest.<sup>99</sup>

In an infrequent form, standing much nearer to the courtly lyric than to the purely objective *chanson d'aventure*, the poet offers his own love lament as a substitute for the usual amorous adventure.<sup>100</sup> The sole distinction, in fact, from the *chanson d'amour* lies in the fact that the writer represents his soliloquy as occurring at a definite moment, under definite circumstances, as the outcome of an actual encounter or of a particular mood of his own:

L'autrier au douz mois d'avril, main me levai:  
Pensis a mes amours jouer m'en alai,  
Dont trop m'esmai,  
Quar ne sai  
Se ja joie en arai.<sup>101</sup>

The examples are far from primitive, being found among the *motets*, or among the *ballades* of Charles d'Orléans and his associates, who have embellished their conventional reveries with prefaces echoing those of the older lyrics of adventure.

The secular *chanson d'aventure* was readily, if not very frequently, adapted by the clerks to pious purposes.<sup>102</sup>

ment de pudeur féminine que dans une seule pièce (III. 25), où l'auteur aura sans doute cherché le piquant de la nouveauté."

<sup>99</sup> II. 6, 62, III. 4.

<sup>100</sup> This variation can be observed in the making as the poet, musing over his love-troubles when he first appears, intrudes to question, to advise, then to woo; in certain cases he has thrust his own love to the fore, by asking or receiving advice of the *pastorelle* or Robin (II. 66, 92, III. 33).

<sup>101</sup> Raynaud, *Motets*, I. p. 232. Cf. Stimming, *Die Motette*, p. 86, no. 14 a; Raynaud, *Motets*, II. p. 51 (Bartsch, II. 98), p. 53 (Bartsch, II. 107); Charles d'Orléans, I. p. 31, II. pp. 122, 214.

<sup>102</sup> On religious adaptations of secular forms in France, cf. Morf, Herrig's *Archiv*, CXI. pp. 122 ff.; Bartsch, *Zs. f. rom. phil.* VIII. pp.

Early in the thirteenth century,<sup>103</sup> Gautier de Coincy skillfully turns the *pastourelle* formula to account in indignantly rebuking those erring clerks who devote themselves to *ces vies pastoureles*, and desert Marie for Marot:

Hui matin a l'ajornee  
tote m'ambleure

570 ff.; P. Meyer, *Rom.* xvii. pp. 429 ff.; Jeanroy, *Rom.* xviii. pp. 477 ff., and *Origines, Textes* ix-xiv; Järnström, *Rec. de Chansons Pieuses*, pp. 13-16.

<sup>103</sup> A fragment of a religious poem dating from the first quarter of the twelfth century (Bartsch, *Chrest.* p. 62, following Paris, *Jb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.* vi. p. 362) or the close of the eleventh (P. Meyer, *Rec. d'Anc. Textes*, p. 206) presents the lament of a maiden (the Church) for her lost lover (Christ). The numbers in parentheses refer to Bartsch.

Quant li solleiz converset en leon	
en icel tens qu'es ortus pliadon,	
per une matin,	(I. 64.)
Une pulcellet odit molt gent plorer	( <i>pucelete</i> , I. 52, <i>plorer</i> , I. 61.)
et son ami dolcement regreter,	(I. 72, II. 91, II. 112.)
et si lli dis:	(I. 64, I. 8; III. 50, I. 21.)
Gentilz pucellet, molt t'ai odit plorer	
et tum ami dolcement regreter,	
et chi est illi?	(III. 49, I. 16; I. 64, I. 9.)
La virget fud de bon entendement,	(III. 43, II. 49-50; II. 68, I. 9.)
si respondit molt avenablement	(III. 25, II. 37-38; III. 50, II. 23-24.)
de son ami:	
'Li miens amis il est de tel paraget,' etc.	

The analogy with the *chansons d'aventure* common in the later twelfth century is patent. Possibly the peculiar manner in which the author develops the situation furnished by the *Song of Songs* (cf. Paris, *l. c.*, pp. 362-363) is influenced by his knowledge of the amorous adventure-lyrics just entering upon their heritage in the South of France. The pedantic designation of Spring marks him as a clerk conversant with the traditions that later take written shape in the *Carmina Burana*; cf. no. 31 (ed. Schmeller, edit. 2, 1883), p. 115, ll. 3-4 (*calcat Phæbus ungula, dum in taurum flectitur*), also nos. 44, p. 134, ll. 1-2; 54, p. 147, l. 1; 98, p. 177, ll. 6-8; etc. This poem is also possibly an early example of the tradition represented in no. 62, p. 153, a modified Latin *chanson d'aventure* which Pillet (p. 102) considers a pious parody, representing the Church by the *puella*, the clergy by the *pastores*, etc.

chevauchai par une pree  
 par bone aventure.  
 une flourete ai trouvee  
 gente de faiture:  
 . . . . .  
 adonc fis vers dusqu'a sis  
 de la fleur de paradis.<sup>104</sup>

Gautier, though alluding to this encounter as if it were an actual occurrence, avoids the recital of an actual amorous dialogue with Mary, but the author of a devout *pastourelle*,<sup>105</sup> similar to those recommended, as we are told, to Saint Louis' young squire, is less discreet; finding the Virgin in a meadow, he describes her in well-worn phrases of secular poetry:

cler out le vis et le cors gent    divino moderamine,  
 . . . . .  
 plus que cristal sont blanc si dent    recto loquentur ordine;

he offers his devotion like any worldly lover. This the gracious Maiden-mother accepts, promising to intercede with her Son for her devoted servant. This poem is demonstrably the re-working of an amorous *pastourelle*.<sup>106</sup> The

<sup>104</sup> Bartsch, p. xiii.

<sup>105</sup> *Zs. f. rom. phil.* VIII. p. 573; extract printed by Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 489 (*Texte* XIV).

<sup>106</sup> An amorous *pastourelle*, written in Anglo-Norman and Latin in the thirteenth century (ed. Sachs, *Herrig's Archiv*, XXI. p. 263, and P. Meyer, *Rom.* IV. p. 380), agrees, in part strophe for strophe and word for word, with this religious Franco-Latin *pastourelle*; the Anglo-Norman poem cannot be the original since it is much more abbreviated than the religious version. The two therefore represent a common amorous original, presumably composed in France. Järnström is not altogether correct in asserting (*Rec. de Chansons Pieuses*, p. 15, n. 1): "Si on la [the religious *pastourelle*] compare avec la *pastourelle* profane, également française-latine, . . . on verra que le poète pieux a très servilement parodié la pièce profane." (Pillet pointed out before Järnström the existence of some verbal agreement, p. 122). Cf. the following lines

few fourteenth century examples are less faithful to their amorous models, less realistic and dramatic. Froissart overhears some shepherds in a formal "argument" relating to the day of St. John the Baptist;<sup>107</sup> an unknown clerk who begins his poem thus:

En mon deduit a moys de may  
 Pensant aloy juxt' une boscage  
 Les floures divers devisay  
 Oseux chauntheantz a lour estage,

tells of encountering *une crois paynte de bele ymage* which inspires him to devout prayer to Mary and her Son.<sup>108</sup> None of the religious adventure-songs completely abandons the device of an actual encounter; there is no religious reverie to correspond to the few love-soliloquies in *chanson d'aventure* form.

French clerks seem not to have used the popular form to embody purely didactic themes,<sup>109</sup> but such poets as Froissart and Deschamps occasionally adopted the framework for their *poésies de circonstance*.<sup>110</sup> Taken as a whole, the adaptation

in the Anglo-Norman poem with those of the French one quoted in the text:

Cler ot le vis et [le] cor[s] gent    nature moderamine,  
 . . . . .  
 Plus de cristal sunt blancs se[s] dens    justo locantur ordine.

<sup>107</sup> Froissart, ed. Scheler, *Poésies*, II. p. 346, *Pastourelle* XVIII.

<sup>108</sup> Extract printed by P. Meyer, *Rom.* VIII. pp. 335 f.

<sup>109</sup> Didacticism marks such lines in the religious *pastourelle* (cf. preceding note) as, *Le vie passe come fait le umbrage*. The few instructive *chansons d'aventure* that may be noted (cf. Deschamps, III. p. 22—*On obtient tout avec de l'argent*—and the note following) are satiric rather than moral.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 30 and note, and *Chansons*, p. 358; Froissart's *pastourelles* (ed. Scheler, *Poésies*, II); Deschamps, III. pp. 22, 47, 62, 93, v. pp. 79, 122, VII. p. 133, X. p. lxxvii, etc.; Leroux de Linçy, *Rec. de Chants Historiques Fr.* II. p. 80, etc.



of this particular convention, whether religious, moral, or occasional, is remarkably restricted.<sup>111</sup>

The French lyrics of adventure, almost without exception, tell of actual encounters. Even when they concern a symbolic character,—*le deu d'amors*, a nightingale that offers sage advice, the Virgin, or the holy Cross,—the recitals are realistic and matter-of-fact; there is no suggestion that the adventure is visionary.<sup>112</sup> The *trouvère* or *jongleur* as a rule consistently maintains the pretense of the opening lines. The cases are comparatively rare in which he keeps unobtrusively to his shadowy background;<sup>113</sup> even when he limits his activity to that of a narrator, he often reminds us of his presence by referring to his secluded point of vantage, or by recording his departure.<sup>114</sup> In a word, the *chansons d'aventure* in France maintain, through all modification, their dramatic quality.

### C. LIMITS OF THE PRESENT DISCUSSION

The French lyrics of adventure must have been known in England while they were still current in France; this is proved by the several English derivatives that were written down as early as about 1300. The highest popularity of

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Järnström, *Rec. de Chansons Pieuses*, p. 16.

<sup>112</sup> With the exception of the adventure—very realistic, nevertheless—which in the stereotyped *début* contains the words *en cel lieu je m'en dormi* (I. 52). The slumber in I. 27 is incidental, being ended before the adventure proper begins.

<sup>113</sup> I. 51.

<sup>114</sup> I. 36, II. 112. Details that figure in the preliminary setting reappear.—*e. g.*, the *cheval*,—but occasionally with some inconsistency (cf. I. 73, II. 3 and 20); the setting in one or two cases (I. 61, 73) is referred to at the close, though the whole prelude is never repeated. In II. 59, 68, the poet who begins his narrative in the first person ends by speaking of himself in the third; so in Paris, *Chansons*, no. 29, and perhaps in II. 65.

the English *chanson d'aventure* comes, however, in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the vogue of the French adventure-song is long since past. The following discussion of the English examples will be concerned with the period that begins about 1300 and terminates in the mid-sixteenth century with the appearance of Tottel's *Miscellany* and the accession of Elizabeth.<sup>115</sup> Late Tudor songs, though perhaps not strictly a part of Middle English poetry, will be included, inasmuch as they are echoes caught up by musicians from traditions of long standing. The many ballads that have adopted the form of the *chanson d'aventure* will be represented by the few examples that date definitely before 1550, or that present plainly traditional features. The large number of *chansons d'aventure* that occur among Elizabethan music-books, and among the later collections of street-ballads and semi-popular songs, fall outside the scope of the present consideration, since they show no significant development of the convention, but only illustrate its persistence.

The discussion will, as a matter of course, include Scottish *chansons d'aventure*, the earliest of which appear in the later years of the fifteenth century.<sup>116</sup> It will comprehend not only amorous lyrics, but also adaptations of religious, didactic, and miscellaneous character; among the miscellaneous adventure-lyrics will be included those of historical, satiric, occasional, and humorous content. The list of *chansons d'aventure* treated will not include adventure-poems (if they may be so called) that preserve merely the element of the poet's presence, as does the carol, "I saw a swete semly

<sup>115</sup> Definite dating of popular and semi-popular poems is of course an impossibility. The date of the MS. or MSS. involved is often of value only in furnishing a *terminus ad quem*.

<sup>116</sup> Occasionally a poem in Scotch dialect is merely a variant of a poem already current in England; cf. D 2 b, 13 b. (For explanation of these citations, cf. Ch. II. n. 1.)

syght; " <sup>117</sup> it will exclude poems in which a vision element predominates, such as Mary's lament, *Quia Amore Langueo*, <sup>118</sup> and poems which are quite devoid of a real adventure element, though influenced in phrasing by adventure-songs, such as "My self walkyng all allone." <sup>119</sup>

The first of the two following chapters will be devoted to the conventional form, the second to the themes. In each an attempt will be made to demonstrate the general adherence of the English convention to its foreign models, and at the same time to point out certain peculiarly English tendencies which manifest themselves in tone and spirit rather than in form.

<sup>117</sup> Rickert, *Carols*, p. 59.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. below, Ch. II. n. 78; Ch. III. § B, n. 14.

<sup>119</sup> *Rel. Ant.* I. p. 26.

## II

### THE CONVENTIONAL FORM

The English composers of *chansons d'aventure* are faithful in the main to the pattern set them by their French predecessors; though they introduce certain important alterations into the narrative, yet they repeat monotonously phrases caught from *trouvère* song.

The preliminaries to the adventure are, as in France, the designation of day, hour, and season, the appearance of the solitary poet "wandering by the way," the announcement of his mood and his motive for being abroad, and the tale of his unexpected encounter with some frequenter of field or forest.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest and most persistent phrase used to designate the day is "this enders day," or "this other day,"<sup>2</sup> a direct translation of the familiar *l'autrier* or *l'autre jour*. Substitutes, occurring usually in the later poems, are "on a day," "in a morning," "once," and "of late" or "not long ago."<sup>3</sup> As in France, the selection of a definite week-day or of a particular feast-day<sup>4</sup> is the result of effort to vary a trite

<sup>1</sup> For French parallels to details presented in this chapter cf. above, Ch. I. § B and notes. Citations of English texts by letter and number refer to the four registers in Appendix B: A (Amorous), R (Religious), D (Didactic), M (Miscellaneous).

<sup>2</sup> A 6, 36, 37 (c. 1303), 38, 39; R 6, 7, 13 (c. 1310), 18, 25 (c. 1310); D 2, 22. (Cf. the modification "this other year," in pieces manifestly influenced by the *chanson d'aventure* tradition; *John the Reeve*, *Percy Folio MS.* II. p. 557, and *The Bludy Serk*, Henryson, Scot. Text Soc. III. p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> A 4, 11; D 7, 30; cf. D 24: A 5, 12, 22, 28, 29, 41, 44, and often: A 2, 24: A 8, 9, 15, 31, 33; R 14, 24; D 28; M 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Monday*, A 20, M 2 a (sæc. XIV); *Wednesday*, A 24, M 2 a, l. 76, in-



formula. Brief descriptions of the day, thoroughly conventional, mark a few of the later pieces.<sup>5</sup>

When precisely timed, the adventure regularly occurs near dawn, or, less definitely, in the morning hours.<sup>6</sup> Variations—the hours of dark before the dawn,<sup>7</sup> noon-tide,<sup>8</sup> evening, and night<sup>9</sup>—occur in comparatively late examples, the choice being sometimes apparently capricious, sometimes determined by the substance, as when the poet chooses noon-tide of a summer's day to symbolize the hot madness of youth.<sup>10</sup> The later adaptations are sometimes burdened with over-sophisticated phrasing, such as Lydgate's "Late whane Aurora of Tytane toke Leve."<sup>11</sup>

Spring is the favourite season of the English wayfarers,

consistently with l. 1. ("On Wednesday" is conventional, especially in Scotland, it would seem: cf. besides A 24 and M 2 a, *Love Gregory*, Scotch version, l. 1, Percy Soc. xvii. p. 60, *Freiris of Berwick*, l. 61, Dunbar, Scot. Text Soc. ii. p. 287; "Ash Wednesday," Dunbar, l. c., p. 160, is influenced by the anti-Lenten theme; non-Scottish use in *Otuel*, l. 125, ed. E. E. T. S. Extra Ser. xxxix); *Sunday*, R 21 (c. 1370), to fit the pious theme.—*Black Monday*, A 20; *Midsummer Eve*, A 45; *Yuleday*, etc., D 1, M 10; "bifore þe Ascenciun," R 21 (c. 1370).

<sup>5</sup> A 28, 29; R 23; D 23, 30; M 16.

<sup>6</sup> *Dawn*, A 10, 28, 35, 45; R 20, 23, 27; D 28, 34, 37; *before the day*, etc., A 7, 29 b, c; M 13, 20; *in a morning*, etc., A 4, 11, 12, 44; D 2, 7, 22, 28, etc. For *early* cf. A 10, 29 b; also probably A 45, end, where "airly" is better interpreted as referring to the hour than to the period of Dunbar's life (cf. Dunbar, Scot. Text Soc. i. p. lxxxvii) or to a date not long past (Schipper, *William Dunbar*, p. 144).

<sup>7</sup> A 45, R 14.

<sup>8</sup> D 18, 24.

<sup>9</sup> "This enders night" (A 23, 40; R 8; M 21) is probably an independent English modification of "this enders day," rather than an imitation of the infrequent *autre nuit*, especially as in all cases but A 40 it seems to be an intentional variation. The phrase occurs in the settings of the fifteenth century "spiritual lullabies," which "certainly savour of the French," though no French poems of the type are known (cf. Padelford, *Cambr. Hist. of Engl. Lit.* ii. p. 433.)—*Evening*, etc., A 29 d, R 21 (c. 1370), D 32, M 4.

<sup>10</sup> D 24.

<sup>11</sup> D 28. Cf. R 20, 23, 27; D 32, 34, 37; M 23.

and May their chosen month; <sup>12</sup> Summer now and then shares their favour.<sup>13</sup> Yet the English poets do not dwell, as one might expect, on the freshness and beauty of reviving Nature. Unlike the *trouvères* who, formalists though they be, do not fail to note *la prime florete blanchoyer aval ces pres*,<sup>14</sup> the English adventurers, early as well as late, inaugurate their recitals with terse, business-like phrases:

From petres bourh in o morewenyng  
as y me wende omy pleyzzyng  
on mi folie y þohte,<sup>15</sup>

or,

As I stod on a day me self under a tre  
I met . . . .<sup>16</sup>

The explanation probably lies partly in the fact that these earliest poets are borrowing from contemporary French poems, that is, from late and ultra-conventional *chansons* with preludes of the most condensed and lifeless type. Other writers, especially in post-Chaucerian days, at once echo the foreign phrases and improve upon them in sophisticated fashion:

In may whan euery herte is lyȝt  
And flourys frosschely sprede *and* sprynge  
And Phebus with his bemys bryȝte  
Was in þe Bole so cler schynyng.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Spring is designated by phrases: *verno tempore* (A 43), "in ye begynnyng off thys yere," etc. (A 25, D 31). "Spring," like French *printemps*, does not occur. *May*, A 7, 11, 21, 22, 26, 28, 29, 34, 35; R 12, 20; D 7, 23; M 13, 18, 20. *April*, R 27 (*sæc.* xvi); *February*, near *March*, A 32 (*sæc.* xv).

<sup>13</sup> A 2, 24; R 21, 22; D 3, 24, 25; M 14, 24.

<sup>14</sup> Bartsch, II. 24.

<sup>15</sup> R 17 (*c.* 1310).

<sup>16</sup> A 4 (*sæc.* xiv, first half).

<sup>17</sup> A 22 (*c.* 1400). The astrological phraseology, which has an isolated French parallel (cf. Bartsch, *Chrest.* p. 62), is here probably

Only an occasional burden, suggestive of folk-song, sounds a spontaneous note of vernal joy:

Mery hyt ys in may mornynge  
Mery wayys ffor to gone.<sup>18</sup>

The fresh and gay months are the traditional season even for the gloomiest adventures,—encounters with lovers “verray seyk, ful pale of hewe” or with sadly repentant wights.<sup>19</sup> Sometimes, however, the darker seasons furnish the background, as in France, for events by no means unhappy; the poet is seeking variety or trying to meet the exigencies of rhyme.<sup>20</sup> In other cases, winter is chosen apparently in a conscious effort to make season and mood conform; Lydgate chooses December for his tale of “flittyng fortune,” and Kennedy dates the tardy repentance of an old friar in the hoary age of the year, “eftir the halydayis of Yule.”<sup>21</sup>

Chaucerian; so also the mythological reference (cf. R 27, D 31). With l. 1 cf. A 34, “In May . . . quhen all luvaris reiosit bene, and most desyrus of pair pray.”

<sup>18</sup> R 2. Cf. A 37 (c. 1303) and A 11 (c. 1500) with burdens redolent of Spring: “No[w] spr[ink]le the sprai” and “Colle to me the rysshys grene, colle to me”; also M 17, “This day day dawes.” In the settings proper, the brief descriptions of the seasons (A 1, 2, 22, 24, 34, 35; R 17, 27; D 7, 23, 24, 31; M 5, 19, 20, 24) offer conventional references to mild and mirthful or lusty May-days or sweet savoured flowers (A 11, 28; D 7); or studied phrases like “in ane symmer sessoun quhen men wynnys thair hay” and “not far fro marche in the ende of feueryere” (A 2, 32; cf. M 4, 5; all late). Some of the Scotch descriptions, though elaborate and conventional, have a welcome concreteness and freshness. cf. A 35.

<sup>19</sup> A 11, D 7, etc. Such a literary artist as Charles d'Orléans perhaps realizes the value of *le joyeux temps* as a foil to his sadness (cf. A 26); but the psychology of the mediæval clerk is not so subtle. It is safe to assert that the average spring-time setting for a lament, amorous, religious, or didactic, is merely a formal survival of an earlier mode.

<sup>20</sup> R 15, a bird sits, with “sykyng sare,” on “bowys bare”; so perhaps A 1, M 4 (though in M 4, “Full carefully clothed from the cold” finds an interesting parallel in Bartsch, III. 1, *trouvai pastoure . . . contre yver ert bien guarnie*, a variation on I. 21, l. 20, III. 50, l. 11).

<sup>21</sup> D 34, l.

One of the earliest of the poets—undoubtedly guided by French tradition in the special form he adopts—chooses for his devout reverie the time when “shrinkeþ rose and lylic flour.”<sup>22</sup> If he has made use of some definite French model, that model was an adventure-poem presumably not of sombre tone, prefaced either by a joyous setting or by one of the very rare ones like *Quant fuelle chiet et flor fault*;<sup>23</sup> if the former be true, he has transformed both setting and adventure; if the latter, he has retained the setting and fitted to it an adventure better suited to its tenor and to his own taste. Such speculation is idle; quite possibly he had no particular model in mind as he wrote, but only the general convention. Certainly most of such modifications in the English poems are to be regarded as independent inventions of serious-minded poets.

The English poet, like his French precursor, shuns company; he observes the tradition for secrecy even when the adventure he is to relate lays no such necessity upon him.<sup>24</sup> Habitually he is idly wandering, unlike the Frenchman who goes proudly *chevalchant*. In fact, considerably fewer than a tenth of all the English poets-errant tell us that they ride,<sup>25</sup> and only one carries the pretense beyond the opening lines:

I ther stod and hoved styll  
To a tre I teyd my sted.<sup>26</sup>

Three of these few riders are early fourteenth-century adventurers,—a fact that suggests that in its beginnings the English *chanson d'aventure* was bidding fair to follow alien

<sup>22</sup> R 17 (c. 1310).

<sup>23</sup> Bartsch, II. 17.

<sup>24</sup> “Alone” etc., A 3, 6, 7, 11, 12, 17, 21, 32, 36, 44, 45, 46, and often; “withowttin feir,” A 12.

<sup>25</sup> A 30 (c. 1310), 35, 37 (c. 1303), 41; R 8, 13 (c. 1310), 15; D 2 b, 14 a, 16 b, 33, 35.

<sup>26</sup> D 35.



precedent. The later development belies this promise because it is dominated not by courtly, amusement-loving *trouvères*, but by grave clerks or by poets in fairly close touch with the people. The "riding," far from serving as an actual mark of class distinction, is only a meaningless phrase to the clerk who ventures the startling assertion, "I gon ryde, walk-yuge al miself alone."<sup>27</sup> The English poet as a rule "walks," "fares," "comes," "goes," "wanders," or "passes by" a quiet place.<sup>28</sup> Sometimes, like the French poet, he relies on the bare phrase "I rose"<sup>29</sup> to suggest the early morning ramble. At times—especially when he is about to relate an episode of quiet nature—he is at repose as the story opens, standing under a tree, sitting, or lying, perhaps "by a bancke";<sup>30</sup> in a final remove from the usual active outdoor adventure, he is studiously musing, or kneeling in devotion, or unclosing a book.<sup>31</sup> In all this he is independent of French custom. Yet, in spite of such radical variations in content, the English writer adheres closely to the Frenchman's phrasing; his "ase y me rod," "as y con fare," and "wandering as I went"<sup>32</sup> are familiar expressions. Though he shows a preference for the *as*-clause, he often uses in later songs the simple preterite, which is the commonest form in France,—*vp* I arose," "I went alone."<sup>33</sup> In a curtailed form, which appears most often in Tudor song-

<sup>27</sup> D 14 a. In D 16 b ("By a fforest as I gan ryde") the verb should be "went," as the rhyme proves. Cf. also A 35 for a contradictory "I red."

<sup>28</sup> Cf. in A alone: 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 21, 22, 24, 26, 29, 32, 33, 36.

<sup>29</sup> A 43; R 5; M 20, 23.

<sup>30</sup> *Standing*, A 3, 4, 31; D 21; M 6; cf. "was present," A 18. *Sitting*, D 11 ("at a sarmoun"); M 1. *Lying*, A 7, 38; R 23; D 18; M 13, 18.

<sup>31</sup> D 31; M 21; R 18, 21; D 22; R 14.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. in A alone: 1 to 9, 12, 13, 16, 24, 26, 29, 31, 32, 33, 37, 41; similar clauses ("mosti ryden," "per I lay") 18, 30, 38; present participle replaces the clause (A 17, 46, etc.)

<sup>33</sup> A 43, 36, and often.

books, he first indicates his presence by the verb that announces the encounter:

In wyldernes  
there found y besse.<sup>34</sup>

In an extreme instance, closely paralleled in France, he says:

Hay how the mavys  
on a brere  
she satt *and* sang  
*with* notes clere.  
I drew me nere  
to se her chere.<sup>35</sup>

In other late forms he indulges in pedantic elaboration both of the expression and of the action itself.<sup>36</sup>

In choosing the scene for his tale the English poet in the main follows the Frenchman's lead. He passes by the greenwood or forest,<sup>37</sup> or less often, by a meadow, hillside, valley, or river's brim.<sup>38</sup> He does not always precisely define the

<sup>34</sup> A 27. The verbs are *heard, found, saw, met*: A 10, 15, 19, 23, 28, 29 a, b, 34, 39, 40, 42, etc. With A 15 (*sæc. xvi*), "I hard lately to a ladye," cf. *L'autrier une dame entendy, Rom. xxxix.* p. 357.

<sup>35</sup> A 14.

<sup>36</sup> "I dyde me repare," "I movit me," etc., A 1, 12, 21, 31, 45; R 22; D 31; M 16, 23. For elaborate preliminary action, cf. A 35, 45, 46; D 24. The ambitious prelude of D 24 may be indirectly influenced by alliterative allegories in which episodes of hunting or deer-stalking figure, and in which the poet appears as witness or actor: cf. *Parl. of Thre Ages*, and *Somer Soneday* (*Rel. Ant.* II. p. 7).

<sup>37</sup> A 16, R 13; both *c.* 1310. Cf. A 14, 26, 27, 36, 39, and often; cf. "under a tree," A 4, 17, etc.; "under the leaves," A 36, 45; R 1, etc.—Preference for the "side" of the forest or meadow (A 2, 35; R 9, 15, 26; D 2 a, 8, 14 b, 15, 16 a, b, 18, 22 b; M 3, 4, 8, 14) abundantly paralleled in France, is encouraged in England by the convenience of *side* to rhyme with *ride, tide*, and *abide*, all frequent in the preliminary narrative. The idea of the borderland is conveyed also by the frequent use of "by" in "by one foreste" etc.; cf. in A alone: 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 24, 30, 32, 35, 42, 45.

<sup>38</sup> *Meadow*, A 2, 4, 12, 24; R 19, 22; D 12; M 5. *Hill*, R 19; D 10;

locality, divulging only that he wanders "by the way."<sup>39</sup> At times he provides the encounter with a local habitation, "by Rybbesdale" or "betuix the ald wark and the nowe."<sup>40</sup>

And yet he follows the lead with a notable difference. Wildness of wood and way have for him a charm unknown to the *trouvère* who haunts trim *bochet*, *vergier*, or *jardin*.<sup>41</sup> He prefers "fryht" or wilderness and passes often through

M 16, 24. *Valley*, A 8, R 19, D 30. *Riverside (bank)*, A 7, 35, 42; R 9; D 26; M 13; cf. M 23 (l. 18). The fountain does not appear; but cf. *well*, A 24, D 23.

<sup>39</sup> R 3, 11; D 13 a, 23; M 23. Cf. M 2 a (ll. 18, 80). The proverbial phrase is immortalized by its connection with the Wife of Bath (Chaucer, Globe Edition, *C. T. Prol.* l. 467). The nearest French parallel is the rare *une voie* (*pres d'une voie*, etc.). Other indefinite terms are "by a place," "in a launde," etc., occurring chiefly in the later pieces; A 1, 5, 12, 13, 18, 23; R 4, 14 (l. 30); D 5, 15, 16; M 19.

<sup>40</sup> A 30; R 17 (both c. 1310); cf. A 8 a, b, 10, 20, 35; M 2. "Here by west" (D 8, 15, both c. 1370; A 9, *sæc.* xvi), likewise honoured by a place in Chaucer's *Prologue* (l. 388), is apparently proverbial, and without special local significance. It is a peculiarly English phrase, quite without French parallel (cf. *Seven Sages*, ed. Killis Campbell, p. 159). Probably the term originally had geographical significance. Cf. *bi este* (*St. Edmund, King*, ed. Furnivall, *Early Engl. Poems*, p. 87, l. 2, ms. c. 1305-10) referring to an eastern region. Cf. also *bi weste* used in texts in some way connected with the west: *King Horn* (ed. McKnight, l. 5) locates "bi weste" the kingdom of the father of Horn, whose home according to Schofield's plausible theory (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xviii. p. 10) was in the Isle of Man; the woman who "woneþ by west" appears in the collection of a south-western clerk (Büddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.* p. 150); the author of *Wynnerc and Wastoure* (c. 1350) who "went in the weste" alludes to himself as a "westren wy" and belongs to the West-Midland school; the Shipman, "wonyng fer by weste" is a man "of Dertemouthe." But before Chaucer's time the phrase was sometimes, at least, purely formal: *Seven Sages* (c. 1275); also *King Horn*, ed. Hall, note on l. 5, p. 91. Its local force persists in the "here be west" whereby John Audelay (*sæc.* xv) describes the abbey near Shrewsbury (cf. *Anglia*, xviii. pp. 177 f.). The possible interpretation "by a waste place" is hardly supportable in view of the instances here adduced.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. "wyldernes," "wielde waies," etc., A 27, 36; R 11; D 14 b, 15, 30; M 11. Cf. Padelford, *Cambr. Hist. of Engl. Lit.* ii. p. 446.

the deep forest<sup>42</sup> instead of along its shaded border. True enough, he occasionally selects grove, bower, arbour, or garden,<sup>43</sup> but only in the late and lifeless days of the convention. His marked preference for the "wylde wode" lends to his narratives a fresh realism that offsets his failure to recount the delights of new-come Spring.

More radical deviations are introduced by the pious adapter. If he retains the familiar out-door background, it is usually as an empty survival of an earlier mode:

Bi a forest as y gan walke  
Without a paleys in a leye.<sup>44</sup>

Or he may endow the traditional scene with a spiritual significance, as when he wanders "under the leaves of life" or "in a valey of þis restles mynde."<sup>45</sup> The seclusion he prefers is sometimes that of chapel or study:

In a kyrke as [I] can knele  
This endyrs-dey be a wode syde,<sup>46</sup>

and he may reject even the sun-flecked wood-side:

In a chirche as I gan knele  
This enders daye to here a masse.<sup>47</sup>

The last word in such transformation is spoken by Lydgate:

<sup>42</sup> A 41; D 16, 17, 18, 35; M 12.

<sup>43</sup> *Grove*, D 28, R 12; cf. "blossemed buske," D 26 (*bochet joliet et flori*, Bartsch, II. 51). *Bower*, A 1, 35. *Arbour*, A 19; R 10, 27; cf. A 22 (an "erber" in a wood; cf. *vergier* . . . *en mi forest*, Bartsch, II. 28). "Rosier," D 27; "corner quaint," A 31. *Garden*, A 17, 21, 44, 45; R 10, 23; D 27; M 17, 21. *Orchard*, D 23. *Park*, D 19, M 6; cf. M 2 a, and "Undir a park," ms. Harl. 2255, f. 150 b.

<sup>44</sup> D 12. For similarly strange juxtapositions cf. R 2, 11; D 22 b, etc.

<sup>45</sup> R 1, 19. Cf. the "forest of noyous hevynes," translated from Charles d'Orléans (A 26).

<sup>46</sup> D 22 b.

<sup>47</sup> R 18; cf. R 14 (l. 30), 21; D 11.



Atween mydnyht and the fressh morwe gray  
 Nat yore ago in herte ful pensiff  
 Of thoughtful sihes my payne to put away  
 Causid by the trouble of this vnstabil liif.<sup>48</sup>

From this preface we might have expected the poet to ride  
 "out throw a forrest that wes fair";<sup>49</sup> but he continues:

Vnclosyd a book that was contemplatyff  
 Of fortune turnyng the book I fond  
 A meditacioun which first cam to myn hond.

The pedantic clerk here scrupulously preserves the orthodox phrasing; but in spirit he has travelled a long road from that first English adventurer who set out "by grene wode to seche play."

Sometimes, too, the English writer abandons the quest for solitude;<sup>50</sup> he is no longer attracted by secluded forest or chapel. Boldly he rides through the town, or makes one of the jostling clerks in the Yule-day procession, or stands among lords and ladies in a crowded hall to study a legend written in no secluded spot, but where he who runs may read.<sup>51</sup> All such innovation is quite unknown to the few composers of pious *chansons d'aventure* in France.

When the poet comes to explain his mood and his reasons for being abroad, his case is not altered: he conforms, outwardly at least, to French precedent. He is never abroad on any definite business; long before the hour of work-a-day duty he has gone forth in pursuit of solace,<sup>52</sup> or more often

<sup>48</sup> R 14, ll. 1-7.

<sup>49</sup> D 2 b.

<sup>50</sup> The secluded character of the setting is explicitly mentioned only in late pieces (A 11, 23, 27, 35, 45; D 19; M 19), but it is usually implied.

<sup>51</sup> D 33; cf. M 14, where Cheapside replaces forest-side: M 10: D 6, 21; cf. *palace*, D 12, M 22.

<sup>52</sup> A 22; R 7, 14; D 9 c. Cf. the line scribbled on a fly-leaf of Corpus Christi Coll. Cambr. ms. 61, and accompanied by the date 1546: "[a] daye of may ffor my solas."

of pleasure for its own sake,—for disport or play, to hear the birds, or to take the air.<sup>53</sup> In one instance, like the *trouvère* seeking for *novele amie*, he rides out,

wilde wymmen forte wale  
ant welde whuch ich wolde.<sup>54</sup>

And frequently he is sad at heart, or at least thoughtful, as he sets out on the way that leads him to mirthful nightingale or to leaden-hued lover.

He is notably distinguished from the French poet, however, by his lack of self-consciousness. Much less interested in himself, he often enters into his narrative without any suggestion of his own state of mind:

In a fryht as y con fere fremede  
y founde a wel feyr fenge to fere.<sup>55</sup>

Unless he intends to present his own love-lament,—a rare contingency,—he has little to say of a moodiness that is without ostensible cause;<sup>56</sup> he has almost nothing to say of the spirits “so burly”<sup>57</sup> that often enliven the *trouvère*. When he prefaces a sober moral theme by a mention of his own thoughts or feelings, he is seeking an approach to his subject and not the pleasures of self-analysis. Thinking

<sup>53</sup> A 32, 37 (c. 1303), 41; R 13, 17, 24, 26; D 10 b, 16. More formal phrases: “ffor my pastyme” or “recreacyoun,” “me to rejoyce,” “to dirkin eftir myrthis,” A 11, 45; D 37. *To hear birds*, A 35; R 22, 27; D 3, 30; M 18, 20, 23. *To take the air*, A 12, 29 d; D 7; cf. R 4 (“Lusty Phebus to supervise”), M 11.

<sup>54</sup> A 30 (c. 1310).

<sup>55</sup> A 16 (c. 1310).

<sup>56</sup> He is moody in none of the *pastourelles* (contrast French precedent). His “dolour” or “musyng” is comprehensible from the situation or actually explained in A 22, 38 (probably; a fragment); R 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 17, 19, 21, 24, 25; D 9 c, 13, 23, 34, 37; M 1, 7, 13, 16, 21; it is unaccounted for in A 7, 44; D 31, 35; M 12 b (contradictory in A 44 to “plesantly,” etc.).

<sup>57</sup> A 44.

"on mi folie," or "bedand myne hourres," he tells us, he is led to pray devoutly, or to listen to the Old Testament lore of an eloquent turtle-dove; <sup>58</sup> if his traditional wanton mood persists, it is to be chastened:

As resoun rewlid my richelees mynde  
Bi wielde waies as y hadde went.<sup>59</sup>

He contributes new explanations of the traditional pensiveness,—thoughts of death and adversity that sting "vnto the herte."<sup>60</sup> He is more likely to assert his definite motive for wandering than to expatiate on his mood; in so doing he does not betray overmuch of his own personality. He retains the time-worn phrases, often at the sacrifice of consistency—

Als I went by a welle: *on my playing*  
Thurghe a mery orcherde *bedand myne hourres*,<sup>61</sup>

or of probability—

as y me wende omy pleyzyng  
on mi folie y þohte.<sup>62</sup>

More often he uses formulas with a familiar structure and ring, but a new significance: "o my pleyzyng," "to heir thir

<sup>58</sup> R 17, 25; D 23; cf. R 21, M 16, and also Zs. f. rom. phil. VIII. p. 573 (Franco-Latin *pastourcelle*: *Psalmos intendens psallere*).

<sup>59</sup> R 11. Cf. R 19 (the "restles mynde" quieted by the recognition of Christ as the true love); D 24 (the hunter, hawk on hand, who goes out "to play" sobered by *Revertere* written on a briar-leaf).

<sup>60</sup> R 12, 14; D 13, 34; etc. Cf. "musyng . . . on thyngs that were past" or "done by great kings," M 13, 7; also M 16. In R 14, M 13, 16, the explanation offered is quite unconnected with the theme that follows.

<sup>61</sup> D 23 (italics mine); cf. A 44; some reconciliation, conscious or not, of the contending words in R 6, 12, 24, 27; D 37, etc.

<sup>62</sup> R 17; cf. D 16, where quest for disport leads up to gloomy meditations. (In D 24 the "ful glad chere" seems consciously used as a foil to the "syzynge sare" that follows.)

birdis gay," "wilde wymmen forte wale," suffer a change into "on my longyng," "to here a masse," "a treulofe for to fynd" (one that proves to be Christ, the "treulove that fals was neuer").<sup>63</sup>

When, after these obligatory preliminaries,<sup>64</sup> the wanderer happens upon the maiden or her substitute, he pauses to describe her, quotes for us a bit of her song,<sup>65</sup> approaches and accosts her, all quite in the mode of the French intruders.<sup>66</sup>

He deviates more decidedly from foreign custom in the general construction of his narrative. Under his treatment

<sup>63</sup> R 7, 18, 19; cf. R 25, D 23.

<sup>64</sup> Most settings, early and late, omit one or more of the customary details; the general tendency is to condensation.

<sup>65</sup> The words sung or spoken (or imprinted on some object) are usually given in the form of a refrain closing each strophe; sometimes the burden is prefixed to the poem. The imitative refrain is represented by the "cum dyry" of the nightingale (A 7), the "terly" of the shepherds, and the "lullay" of the Virgin-mother (R 8, 7); cf. "nowell," "la lay," "hey ho," (A 7; R 23, 26, etc.). A feature confined to the non-secular adaptations is the Latin refrain line (R 3, 4, 10, 11, 19, 21, 24; D 9, 16, 22, 24, 30).

<sup>66</sup> The poet sometimes "casts his eyes on every side" (A 41, R 10, D 16) before catching sight of the heroine of his adventure; his attention, like the French poet's, may be temporarily arrested by a figure that soon recedes in favour of the true heroine (A 41). The adventure comes "by chance" in A 6, 8 b, 9, 33; R 9, 11, 14; D 13 b (cf. "aventur," A 24, 45); all late. The maiden (or her substitute) is alone (A 27, etc.), in a meadow or under a tree or "buske" (A 4, R 15, 19); she is "on her way," and "riding" (A 4, 41; cf. also use of "met"). She is described (A 1, 4, 10; R 6, 10; D 2 b, 14; M 2, and often; expanded description, A 30, 35). The sight of her brings joy (A 7, 12, 35; R 4; D 22, 30; M 13, 18) or—in didactic pieces—sadness (D 14 a, 23, 24, 30, 36). The poet pauses and ponders (R 4, 9; D 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 26, and often; ties his steed, D 35); approaches to see or to hear (A 4, 14; R 10, 11; D 4, 12, 19, 23; M 23, etc.). If he does not conceal his presence, he greets her (A 4, 24); she receives him courteously (A 4, M 2 a); she "bids him abide" (A 14, R 4, D 14 a, M 14). He asks or wonders who she is, what her song means, and why she sings it (A 16; R 10; D 2 b, 9 a, b, 16, 17, 22, 23, 30, 35, 36; M 2, 16, 19, 23). She makes a show of resentment (A 14, 16; D 16) or answers readily, or even offers unsolicited explanation (D 30; M 14, 18).



the type fails to maintain the combination of lyric, dramatic, and narrative elements that is proper to it. The earliest *chansons d'aventure*, whether amorous or religious, and the greater number of the later ones, excepting the didactic, are veritable songs, composed probably for musical accompaniment and often repeating in the form of a tuneful burden the words of love-sick maiden, Maiden-mother, or comely English queen.<sup>67</sup> But a few examples from the secular and religious groups, and most from the didactic, are artistic or moral efforts rather than spontaneous expressions of feeling; they are robbed in spirit, and to a less degree in form, of lyric quality.<sup>68</sup>

The loss in dramatic realism is even more productive of change in the adventure-songs. In only about one-half the total number are the actors persons whose feelings or actions interest the poet.<sup>69</sup> These persons are usually human and real in the love poems,—though in several modified examples symbolic characters appear,<sup>70</sup>—and they are undeniable personalities in a few secular ballads to which the conventional setting has been prefixed, such as the tale of clerk Jankyn, of the Yule-day procession, who

<sup>67</sup> *E. g.*, A 37; R 6; M 1, 17.

<sup>68</sup> A 45 is not a lyric; D 23 is a long poem, largely expository. Otherwise all the poems of the four lists are lyrics. But whereas more than half of each of the secular and religious groups consists of real songs, carols, or ballads, only a small proportion of the didactic pieces are of the song or carol type; the majority of this group, as the minority of the others, is made up of formal poems in stanzas of eight lines (most commonly the "monk's stanza," *ababbcbc*; cf. Schipper, *Grundr. d. Engl. Metrik*, pp. 328 ff.), twelve lines, seven lines (Chaucerian) or thirteen lines (as in *Pistill of Susan*, etc., cf. Gollancz, *Engl. Misc. to Furnivall*, p. 112, *Amours*, *Scot. Allit. Poems*, *Scot. Text Soc.* pp. lxxxii ff.). Most of these poems have a refrain line, sometimes in Latin.

<sup>69</sup> In almost two-thirds of groups A and M, but in less than half of R and in only about two-fifths of D.

<sup>70</sup> A 3, 12, 26.

. . . twynkelid but sayd nowt;  
and on myn fot he trede.<sup>71</sup>

But human actors are replaced in the religious adaptations by the divine Mother or Son, or holy shepherds and kings, and in the moral and miscellaneous by mere types,—“wights,” abstractions, or unembodied voices.<sup>72</sup> To the moral adapter, especially, the figures with which the convention provides him are not individuals, but only convenient mouth-pieces; indeed, as far as he is concerned, a man and a bird can sing with equal effectiveness the song of *Timor Mortis*.<sup>73</sup> Birds take the place of personal actors, rarely in the secular poems, but more often in the religious modifications, and frequently in the didactic.<sup>74</sup> These religious and moral fowls have in them little of the songster and much of the homilist; and even the amorous lark startles us with his statement that he is Troilus's heir in love, and with his motto, *car vene me ad purchace la mort*.<sup>75</sup> Lifeless substitutes for personal actors appear in the religious adaptations, and are adopted with enthusiasm by the moralists: holy images that inspire meditation or seem to speak, or legends inscribed on conveniently located pages, walls, or briar leaves.<sup>76</sup> In their avoidance of such symbols and in-

<sup>71</sup> M 10.

<sup>72</sup> D 7, 8, 32; M 24; D 12; D 37, M 21. Typical figures are common: age warning youth, the jolly foster, Meed, Eleanor of Gloucester as a type of one fallen from high estate, etc. (D 10, 26, 31; M 3, 22, etc.).

<sup>73</sup> D 9. Cf. D 8 and 16.

<sup>74</sup> Birds appear in but four of the love poems and five of the secular imitations; they appear in one-fourth of the religious group and in almost one-third of the didactic. The appearance of other animals in M 6, 12, 16, 23 (buck, hare, lion, etc.) shows that the type is far from its origin. The birds are used to disguise personalities, A 14; R 15; M 16, 23.

<sup>75</sup> A 22.

<sup>76</sup> Images, R 12; cf. R 18, 24. *Inscriptions*, R 14, 21; D 3, 6, 13, 20, 21, 24, 29, 33.

scriptions, as of oppressively pedantic fowls, the secular adapters are most faithful to their realistic models.

As a rule the adventures are related as matters of actual and definite fact, even when they concern beings higher than human, prating birds, or lifeless figure-heads, or when they resolve themselves into meditations of the poet. "Mett y wyhte Ihesu to chyrcheward gone," says a devout wanderer, and a lover laments, "I gan remembre me" of "my seruyse" and "gret aduersyte."<sup>77</sup> But the poets who tell such tales have obviously left dramatic realities far behind, and we are not surprised when they "waxe wery" and sleep awhile before recording the arrival of a lady who bears a wondrous ring, or the declaration of a nightingale that "kysse of women wyrkyth wo."<sup>78</sup> Those clerks who lack the boldness to meet and speak with the divine Mother or her Son, transform the actual meeting in the greenwood to an imaginary encounter:

As I me went pis enderday  
Al-one on my longyng,  
Me thowth I say a wel fayre may.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>77</sup> R 2, A 46.

<sup>78</sup> D 3, M 18. The line of demarcation between actual and imaginary adventure must necessarily be somewhat arbitrary. It is often impossible to determine whether a given poem originated in the writer's conception as a vision-poem and was fitted out with the setting proper to the *chanson d'aventure*, or as a *chanson d'aventure* which permitted the intrusion of visionary elements; the latter would seem to be true of R 7. It is also impossible at times to decide whether the poet's nap, mentioned casually in the preface, is an incidental preliminary or a fact to be reckoned with throughout the narrative (*c. g.*, A 35, D 30, M 18). The only feasible course is to assign doubtful poems to the adventure-type if the prevailing impression given by the narrative proper is that of an actual occurrence. The following poems, listed as adventure-poems, have some suggestions of the vision-type: A 35; R 7; D 3, 30, 36; M 18, 23; cf. M 13, l. 4. In D 36, M 23, the idea of a dream comes as an afterthought at the close. In D 3 the impression of a dream-event is stronger than in any of the others.

<sup>79</sup> R 7.

Though poems of this type dwell, vividly enough, on concrete and life-like scenes:

þe mayd went with-owt song  
 Hir child on slepe to bring;  
 þe child thowth che ded hym wrong  
 And bad his moder syng,

yet they offer a very close approach to the vision.

Even the narrative element tends to disappear in the hands of the English poet, who manifestly prefers forms in which he is not an active participant.<sup>80</sup> He shows slight favour to the *pastourelle* and is likely to leave it unfinished; he lapses into unbroken reverie now and then in the secular *chanson d'aventure*, more often in the religious, and regularly in the didactic, though in the latter the meditation is ordinarily transferred from the lips of the poet to those of some conventional spokesman.<sup>81</sup> He is quick to abandon the pretense that he himself watches or overhears the little drama which he presents; he easily forgets that he has claimed as his own the soliloquy which he quotes, and has even pointed out the definite day, hour, and place of its utterance.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>80</sup> He represents himself as constant participant in only about one-third of the love adventures (including the soliloquies) and in a much smaller percentage—about one-eighth—of the adaptations. (Computation is uncertain, because it is frequently impossible to determine whether the poet means a monologue to pass as his own or as that of the figure encountered.)

<sup>81</sup> The average didactic poet disclaims responsibility for the monologue he presents; cf. D 15:

Hit [the bird] coupe not speke, but þus hit mente:  
 How Merci passeþ alle þinge.

<sup>82</sup> As in A 21. Lack of connection between reverie and narrative setting exists in extreme degree in "Alone walking, In thought pleyn-ing" (Skeat, *Chauc. Pieces*, p. 448; cf. a similar poem, *Rel. Ant.* i. p. 26). Neither poem presents a definite adventure. In three *pastourelles* in ballad form (A 5, 29, 41) the poet, like the *trouvère*, soon ceases to identify himself with the wooer.



As a rule he refrains from mentioning himself and his hiding-place<sup>83</sup> or from recording his departure.<sup>84</sup> A few of the later poets, particularly of the Scottish school, maintain their assumed rôle to a certain extent by referring at the close of the story to the landscape sketched in the preface; but the repetition, mechanical and at times somewhat inconsistent with the initial setting, cannot be considered as indicating that the author vividly realizes the situation.<sup>85</sup> Two of the earliest poets definitely introduce themselves in a double capacity,—first as minstrel proper and, a few lines later, as adventurer.<sup>86</sup> In each case the poet represents himself in the first strophe as a singer prepared to offer his song, and begins the proposed song in the second strophe with the formula peculiar to the *chanson d'aventure*. The form is borrowed direct from over-sea;<sup>87</sup> but whereas the *trouvère*

<sup>83</sup> Bits of narrative or comment that interrupt the monologues or dialogues are usually such as are common to narrators, and not peculiar to an eye-witness. The poet's progress from place to place is a late elaboration (R 10, 11 b, 15; D 22; M 23); his reappearance at the close is rare (occurring in about one-seventh of the *chansons d'aventure* in which he is not a constant actor).

<sup>84</sup> A 45 (Dunbar's *Tua Mariit Wemen*) is exceptional; its close is in the manner of the *Boke of the Duchesse*, etc.

<sup>85</sup> A 12, 21, 24, 31, 35, 45; R 2, 20; D 1, 10, 15, 23, 31; M 19, 23. Nine of these are Scotch, or in a distinctly Scotch tradition. The habit is certainly not French in origin. It may be a result of the familiarity of fifteenth century Scotch poets with the older alliterative poetry of the West Midland school (cf. Schipper, *William Dunbar*, p. 133). Two conventions of that poetry are the initial nature setting, in which the poet is introduced as hero, and the repeated setting at the close (e. g., *Parl. of Thre Ages*, *Piers Plowman*, *Pearl*, *Buke of the Howlat*). It is quite conceivable that a fifteenth century Scotchman, at work on a short *chanson d'aventure*, should modify its close under the influence of longer pieces of similar structure current in his region. Indeed, Dunbar's *Tua Mariit Wemen* (A 45) furnishes a clear instance of the fusion of the two types, as does also M 19, a late English poem. (It is noteworthy that alliteration is strongly marked in the Scotch pieces in question.)

<sup>86</sup> R 17, 25, both c. 1310.

<sup>87</sup> For the French parallel, cf. above, Ch. I. § B, n. 8. The correspond-

is moved by the beauty of the Spring to sing of his adventure with the *belle Amelinete*, the English imitator is inspired to an adventure-song which almost immediately develops into a soliloquy in praise of Him "þat þerled was ys side."<sup>88</sup>

In structure, then, the English *chanson d'aventure* reproduces the corresponding French form; a narrative in which dramatic and lyric elements are more or less highly developed, is set within a framework in which the poet appears as narrator. The direct influence of foreign *chansons* on

ence has not to my knowledge been noted hitherto. Patterson (*M. Engl. Pen. Lyric*) notes the first strophe of R 17 as parallel to the opening of a *chanson d'amour* (p. 33) and the second of R 17 and 25, the "setting proper," as imitated from the *chanson à personnages* (pp. 39, 177); but he does not point out any French *chanson* combining the two preludes.—In view of the genesis here established, propositions to discard either the first or the second strophe of R 17 and 25 may henceforth be disregarded. Wissmann (*Literaturbl.* 1880, p. 215) and Aust (Herrig's *Archiv*, LXX. p. 272) would reject the second stanza of 25 (to which poem the discussion is chiefly limited); Lauchert (*Engl. Stud.* XVI. p. 140), the first, if either. Aust's charge of faulty thought sequence is hardly sustained; in each poem the two settings and the body are linked by one idea, *i. e.*, in 25, the mercy of Jesus, and in 17, the decay of earthly fairness in death, from which Jesus, at Mary's intercession, may save us. The difference in rhyme scheme between the first and the succeeding strophes of 25 (cf. Lauchert) is not ground for rejection of the first; cf. the variation within single French *chansons* (Bartsch, II. 12, 20, 21, 27, etc.) and within A 16, an English poem in the same collection as R 25; moreover, strophe one (*aabccbdbb*) and the others (*aabaab* or *aabccb*) have the same basic combination; finally, it is not strange that a minstrel should somewhat differentiate his prelude from his song.—The conventionality of this form furnishes added argument against Bøddeker's supposition of common authorship for R 17 and 25 (*Altengl. Dicht.* pp. 213, 193; cf. Wissmann, Aust, Lauchert, *l. c.*); though it is not altogether improbable that one author should repeat one formula in several poems, as the custom of Jehan Erart, Ernoul le Viel, Thibaut de Navarre, and many other *trouvères* indicates (Bartsch, III. 15-24, 6-9, 4-5, etc.).

<sup>88</sup> The few later *chansons d'aventure* prefaced or interrupted by the ballad-singer's call for attention, confidence, or refreshment, are not in the same category; the minstrel makes no claim to authorship of the narrative he recites, or to identity with its hero; cf. A 13, R 15, D 12

external form is manifested in the lyrics with double setting, with prefixed burden representing the maiden's song, and with the linking of strophes by repetition;<sup>59</sup> French influence on phraseology is evident in the preliminary nature-settings. Nevertheless, the differences between the English and the French adventure-songs are so marked that one can safely conclude that the English poets were not slavishly translating or imitating particular foreign models, but rather working in accord with familiar tradition. Doubtless the later English writers knew the tradition much better through its earlier English exponents than through the French.

These differences are chiefly due to the comparatively late appearance of the type in England, and to the character and tastes of the English authors. To the first cause we may attribute the condensed form of setting, reminiscent of the later French type, and especially common in Tudor songs in which the words are merely incidental to the music; to this cause we may attribute likewise the elaborations of phraseology, description, and action, produced under the influence of Chaucerian diction and of the more ambitious types of narrative popularized through the *Romance of the Rose* and *Piers Plowman*. But the majority of the peculiarities in

(Porkington version, unprinted). In the last named text strophe 13 interrupts the story of a woodland encounter:

Yfe þe woll here þis songe to ende  
 Howe they endyde longe in fere  
 I schall yowe tell or I wende  
 Howe mercy ys all *and* hase no pere  
 Of goddes grace I rede yowe lere  
 The nere þe ende þe sonnge ys beste  
 Geyfe me drenke *and* þe schall here  
 Here ys a fette nowe wyll I reste.

(On such traditional minstrel-calls, cf. F. Kühner, *Litt. Charakteristik d. Roxburghe- u. Bagford-Balladen*, Freiburg, 1895, p. 43. Cf. *Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. Hindley, 1873-1874, II. p. 329, for a late *chanson d'aventure* with the minstrel's preface.)

<sup>59</sup> A 16; cf. A 21.

the English poems, and the most significant, are attributable to the character of the authors, who reveal their clerkly tendencies in their songs; the poets are probably often wandering clerks, who differ from the *trouvère*, aristocrat and conscious artist that he is, not only in their preference for religious and moral themes, but also in their sympathy with the common people. As poets in close touch with the people they betray no interest in self-exploitation, and willingly lessen or relinquish their fictitious rôles; they manifest no class-pride (no longer do they "come riding") and no love of formality, which would lead them to prefer bower to greenwood. As adventurers with a purpose, they introduce into the stereotyped settings such unaccustomed features as evening, wintry cold, and sober moral meditation; they transfer the scene to town, or chapel, or the valley of unstable mind; they choose a state of inaction, conducive to profitable thought, in preference to idle wandering or merry cantering through forest-ways; they show a liking for their own soliloquies, and also for superhuman or lifeless figures, which do much to rob the *chanson d'aventure* of its realism, and which facilitate its transformation into an account of visionary happenings. It is at the hands of these clerks that the English *chanson d'aventure*, though preserving a semblance of narrative and dramatic form, loses its marked narrative, dramatic, and lyric qualities, and becomes ordinarily a meditative poem fitted out with an adventitious and often incongruous prelude.

Finally the "makars" of Dunbar's school are perhaps to answer for the device of the repeated setting; and for the marked alliteration as well as for purely English phrases such as "here by west" or "wandering by the way" the whole body of writers this side the Channel are responsible.



### III

#### THE THEMES

A minority only of the Middle English *chansons d'aventure* are love-songs; the majority deal with moral or religious or occasional themes. In spite of their very different substance and tone, all the adaptations are nevertheless capable of being classified, like the amorous models, either as *chansons dramatiques* or as *pastourelles*, according as the poet either overhears a monologue or dialogue, or offers his own devotion to some adored being. This distinction is not, however, equally significant in all types of adaptation. It retains its importance in those poems wherein the author is really concerned with the actors as such, with their personal feelings and their personal relations to each other and to him,—that is, particularly in the religious songs. The distinction is not vital, on the other hand, in the moral and in most of the miscellaneous adaptations, in which the poet, bent solely upon setting forth a lesson, cares not at all whether that lesson be enunciated by one speaker or several, by man, maid, or bird, and whether he himself be expositor or silent auditor. Accordingly, in the following discussion of the four types of *chansons d'aventure* the distinction between *chanson dramatique* and *pastourelle* will be emphasized only in the sections treating the first two types, amorous and religious.

#### A. AMOROUS

The amorous *chansons d'aventure* are infrequent, in comparison with their abundant Old French prototypes, in the Middle English period; they nevertheless constitute a very

definite type, and one that was established in English poetry by the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest example is a *chanson dramatique* embodying the complaint of a maiden. In this poem, which dates in present form probably before 1303,<sup>2</sup> the author tells of overhearing the song of a "litel mai" whose lover "chaunges anewe":

no[w] spri[nke]s the sprai.  
al for loue icche am so seeke  
that slepen i ne mai.

Close in structure and detail to French tradition as it is, the song may have been taken direct from some French *chanson dramatique*; <sup>3</sup> if so, its original is one of that small minority

<sup>1</sup> An English development of the type prior to 1300 may be assumed on the ground that four amorous poems of about 1300 are found in three different manuscripts, and that three at least present noteworthy and consistent divergence from French methods of treatment; moreover, religious adaptations have had time to appear (cf. R 13, 17, 25, in Harl. MS. 2253, c. 1310, the manuscript that contains two of the earliest amorous examples).

<sup>2</sup> A 37. On the date cf. Woodbine, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* iv. p. 236; Skeat, *ibid.*, v. p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> It corresponds closely, for instance, with Bartsch, II. 7, as the following parallel demonstrates:

No[w] spri[nke]s the sprai.  
al for loue icche am so seeke  
that slepen ine mai.

1 als i me rode this endre dai <sup>a</sup>

o mi [pleyinge]

s[ei]h i hwar a litel mai

bigan to singe.

5 the clot him clingge <sup>b</sup>

wai es him i louue l[on]g[in]ge

sal libben ai.

Nou sprinkes, etc.

L'autrier defors Picarni

juer m'en alai,

une pastoure choisi

ke crioit 'hahai,

lasse, ke ferai?

jeu ai perdu mon ami:

jamaiz n'amerai

nullui de cuer gai.'

<sup>a</sup> MS. this endre dai als i me rode.

<sup>b</sup> MS. clingges.

in France in which the *pucelete* (not designated as a shepherdess) does not receive the poet's advice and solace. The other laments of forsaken maidens, all considerably later,<sup>4</sup> adhere less closely to the French models; yet the features that mark that mode have persisted. When the poet draws near and accosts the girl he finds that her dear love has

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>Son icche herde that mirie note<br/>yider i drogh<br/>10 i fonde hire [in] an herber swot<br/>under a bogh.<br/>With ioie inogh.<br/>son i asked thou mirie mai<br/>hwi sinks tou ai?<br/>Nou sprinkes the sprai,<br/>etc.</p> | <p>Si tost com j'oi le cri<br/>celle part tornai;<br/>deles un arbre foilli<br/>la belle trovai,<br/>et li demandai<br/>por coi k'elle dist ensi:<br/>jamaiz n'amerai<br/>nullui de cuer gai.</p>            |
| <p>15 than answerde that maiden swote<br/>midde wordes fewe.<br/>mi lemman me haues bi hot<br/>of louue trewe.<br/>he chaunges a newe.<br/>20 thiif i mai it shal him rewe.<br/>bi this dai.<br/>Now sprinkes.</p>                | <p>Et elle me respondi<br/>'je le vos dirai:<br/>Robins d'autrui ke de mi<br/>prist chapel de glai.<br/>si grant duel en ai<br/>ke nel puis mettre en obli.<br/>jamaiz n'amerai<br/>nullui de cuer gai.'</p> |

In a fourth stanza Bartsch, II. 7, records the poet's successful wooing; the French poem, though a close parallel, is not the direct original. Nor is Bartsch, III. 38, which like A 37 is confined to the lament of the *pastourelle*. Notable parallels to French usage are: "that slepen ine mai" (cf. Bartsch, I. 38, l. 4, I. 61, l. 36); "litel mai," "maiden swote" (cf. *pucelete*, *tousete*); "with ioie inogh"; "mi lemman . . . louue trewe"; "herber swot," in place of "fryht," etc. (cf. *vergier gai*, Bartsch, II. 113).—The rhyme scheme and the burden likewise suggest French influence.

<sup>4</sup>A 6, 8, 27, 39, 43; four written down after 1500, the other (8) a traditional ballad. For the theme not in *chanson d'aventure* form, cf. four songs of MS. Caius Coll. Cambr. 383, *sæc.* xv. fol. 210, "Bryd on brere y telle yt to" and "þei y synge and murþ I make"; fol. 41, "Wybbe ne rele ne spyne yc ne may," and "Alas, alas þe wyle þat euer y coude daunce" (in which the girl laments her betrayal by "Jak, oure haly water clerk." Cf. also "But late in place A pretye lasse" (*Wit and Science*, Shak. Soc. 1848, p. 58), *sæc.* xvi, first half; a poem reminiscent in form of the *chanson d'aventure*).

"gone away," "hath chosen a new,"<sup>5</sup> or that a "wanton child" or perhaps *quidam clericus* has beguiled her; he hears her frank reference to the shame that awaits her, her expression of fear at the thought of parental anger, and her proud resolve to waste no more thought on her faithless lover:

Now hit ys so  
lefe of my woe  
with gode devyse  
And let hym goo.<sup>6</sup>

If the maiden's plaint is caused by her vain longing to know the joys of love,<sup>7</sup> she cries rebellion against her interfering parents:

<sup>5</sup> A 8, 39.

<sup>6</sup> For these details, cf. A 27, 43. The *motif* of the "clerk and the girl" is here probably an English inheritance (cf. the song cited in n. 4, and Bøddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.* p. 172, etc.), though there is of course French parallel; cf. *li clers* of Bartsch, II. 59, and also the song (Haupt, *Fr. Volkslieder*, p. 81):

Langueo d'amours, ma douce fillette  
dum video vos au verd boys seulle.  
.  
Verno tempore florissant rosette  
et in aurora chante l'alouette,  
philomela dit en sa chansonnette  
'non est clericus qui n'a s'amyette.'

To this song A 43 is evidently related in some degree:

Vp y arose in verno tempore  
and found a maydyn sub quadam arbore  
That did complayne in suo pectore:  
.  
Now what shall y say meis parentibus  
Bycause y lay with quidam clericus.

<sup>7</sup> A 18, 19. For later echoes of the theme cf. *Mother Watkin's Ale* (J. Lilly, *A Collection of Seventy-nine Ballads and Broad-sides*, London, 1870, p. 251) which bears traces of the *chanson d'aventure* setting; *Bagford Ballads*, ed. Ebsworth, I. 24, 125 (cf. II. 930); *The Pilgrim's Garland* (a collection of songs, probably *sæc.* XVIII), p. 4; etc.



My fathar, my mothar, my mastar, nor my dam  
 Shall not let me, I shar [? swar] by sent Tyve;<sup>8</sup>

she is troubled with the fear that she will remain forever a maid, having been too ready with her coy rejection of Robin Bruckeholl's suit.<sup>9</sup> The monologues of these forsaken or loveless maids are interrupted by the lover's tardy arrival, or by the poet's brief question.<sup>10</sup> The poet, however, never appoints himself chief counsellor, as the *chevalier* was wont to do; and he sometimes so far forgets his adopted rôle of witness to a definitely localized scene that he allows himself to relate the subsequent history of the maiden, or to utter a warning to all women who read his tale.<sup>11</sup> The wanton grace of the early French *chansons* is altogether lacking; the primitive *motifs*, though still persisting, have fallen upon evil days.

The complaint of the unhappy young wife occurs in a few late *chansons d'aventure* composed chiefly in Scotland.<sup>12</sup> The theme, independent of the narrative setting, was known in fourteenth century England, as is proved by the scrap of French verse that apparently formed part of the repertory of some English singer:

Amy tenetz vous ioyous si murra lui gelous,<sup>13</sup>

and also by one of those worldly songs that the Bishop of Ossory undertook to transform into pious hymns, lest they pollute the lips of his young clerks:

<sup>8</sup> A 18.

<sup>9</sup> A remote parallel occurs in the situation of the French *dame*, commented on by Jeanroy, *Origines*, pp. 96 ff.

<sup>10</sup> A 8, 39; A 6.

<sup>11</sup> A 6, 8. In the course of such narrative, the maiden's refrain changes to suit the altered situation (A 6; cf. Bartsch, II. 7, 32, 51, etc.).

<sup>12</sup> A 2, 9, 13, 20, 45, all c. 1500 or later; all Scotch except 13.

<sup>13</sup> Ms. Rawl. D. 913, *sæc.* XIV. beg., ed. *Anglia*, XXX, p. 173.

Alas, hou shold ý syng yloren is my playng  
 Hou shold ý with that olde man  
 To leven and [oblit.] my leman (MS. *lemon*)  
 Swettist of al thinge.<sup>14</sup>

Here is something of the naïve rebellion of the *chanson de mal mariée*. But in the *chansons d'aventure* devoted to the theme a different spirit rules. A strong tendency to satire, to broad comedy and burlesque, and a deliberately cynical attitude on the part of the eavesdropping poet, render them comparable to their popular contemporaries in France rather than to their semi-aristocratic prototypes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The young wife's frankly avowed grievance,

. . . I dar nocht luik our the stair  
 Scantlie to gif Schir Johne ane kiss,<sup>15</sup>

is assigned to her by a "makar" with manifest delight in satiric side-thrusts. Her boisterous victory over her husband in a battle of blows<sup>16</sup> is a burlesque of her old mutiny:

ne me bates mie,  
 maleuroz maris,  
 vos ne m'aveis pas norrie.<sup>17</sup>

With her, *honis soit maris ki dure plus d'un mois*<sup>18</sup> has be-

<sup>14</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.* x. App. Pt. 5, p. 244; cf. pp. 219 ff. A series of *cantilenae* contained in the "Red Book of Ossory," a record of the acts of the synod of the diocese, are there ascribed to Richard de Ledrede or Lederede, Bishop of Ossory from about 1316 till 1360; prefixed to some of the Latin songs are lines in English and Old French (including the lines here quoted), which are presumably taken from the worldly songs to which the Bishop objected.

<sup>15</sup> A 20; cf. a reference, not particularly satiric, to "Messire Jean" in Parducci, no. 3, not a *chanson d'aventure*. For other satiric elements in the English poems, cf. also A 13, and especially the closing words of A 45.

<sup>16</sup> A 9.

<sup>17</sup> Bartsch, I. 45.

<sup>18</sup> Bartsch, II. 27.

come, "God gif matrimony were made to mell for ane jeir";<sup>19</sup> her revolt is less against the despised husband than against the binding institution of marriage:

Ye suld heir tell, and he war gane,  
That I suld be ane wantoun ane.

Wa worth maryage for evirmair!<sup>20</sup>

In spite of her scorn for the "churle," her husband, she is usually of no higher rank, and certainly of no higher tastes, than he;<sup>21</sup> standing with him as a mark for the cynicism of the poet, she is indeed unlike the *dame* of the French songs, wedded to a *vilain*, pitied and consoled, if not altogether respected, by the condescending poet.

Yet the adventures with the discontented wives are not without reminiscences of their origin. Three of the five types noted by Gaston Paris<sup>22</sup> are represented among the English songs: those in which the poet overhears the woman's monologue,<sup>23</sup> her dispute with her husband,<sup>24</sup> and her interchange of confidences with other women;<sup>25</sup> likewise the later variation that presents a young girl soon to be wedded to a man who does not please her fancy.<sup>26</sup> The poem most in keeping with French tradition is the *Wa Worth Maryage*, the lament of a "sweit ane" reported by a poet who refrains

<sup>19</sup> A 45.

<sup>20</sup> A 20.

<sup>21</sup> A 20, 45; cf. A 9. A 45 refers to a difference in rank between husbands and wives (ll. 311-12: "the seuerance wes mekle Betuix his bastard blude, et my birth noble"), but the manners of the fine ladies are rude and boisterous, and the lovers whom they choose are not of the social level of the consoling *chevaliers*.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. above, Chap. I. § B.

<sup>23</sup> A 20.

<sup>24</sup> A 9. Cf. the ballad celebrating marital strife, c. 1450 (Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Percy Soc. p. 51) with a reminiscence of the *chanson d'aventure* formula in l. 1: "Thys indrys day befel a stryfe."

<sup>25</sup> A 13, 45. (The mother acts as *confidante* to the *mal marié* in A 31.)

<sup>26</sup> A 2.

from comment and is presumably not wholly unsympathetic.<sup>27</sup> The young woman resents the jealous spying of the churl who claims her, to her impotent disgust; she regrets the vanished pleasures of her girlhood, in compensation for which marriage has offered her none of the hoped-for joys; she longs for her own death or for that of her husband; in the latter happy event, she boasts:

I suld put on my russet gowne,  
My reid kirtill, my hois of brown;  
And lat thame se my yallow hair,  
Undir my curché hingand down.

. . . . .  
Luffaris bayth suld heir and se  
I suld luif thame that wald luif me.

. . . . .  
Bot ay unweddit suld I be.

Kirtle and kerchief are Scotch enough; but the "sweit ane" plainly has a French ancestry. So too have the wife, but three days wed, abusing her husband, the woman confiding to a sympathetic "gossip" her expectation of her husband's death, and the young girl rebelling against her father's choice of a mate for her. They remind us of the *mariées de novel*, the *compaignete*, the woman crying, *A un vilain m'ont donee mi parent*; <sup>28</sup> but they do less honour to their origin.

One Scotch *mal mariée*, who appears with a pair of *confidentes*, is deserving of special consideration for the reason that, though well-known, she is not generally recognized as the heroine of a *chanson dramatique*. And indeed, Dunbar's *Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo* <sup>29</sup> is not, strictly speaking, an adventure-lyric. It is a lengthy poem, composed of long, unrhymed, alliterative lines,—in no sense a

<sup>27</sup> A 20. Yet it is this poet who alludes to her flirting with Schir Johne.

<sup>28</sup> Bartsch, I. 21, 67, 64.

<sup>29</sup> A 45.



lyric. Moreover, it issues directly from a literary line other than that of the *chansons d'aventure*; for it is an inheritor of the tradition of those mediæval satires against marriage that culminated in the *Prologue* of the Wife of Bath.<sup>30</sup> But its structure is not accounted for by any anti-marital satire,<sup>31</sup> whereas it is precisely paralleled among the Old French *chansons d'aventure*. Dunbar goes forth before dawn on Midsummer-day, and finds in a green arbour three gay ladies whose beauty he describes. Concealing himself behind the hawthorn hedge, he plays the eavesdropper while they abuse the absent unfortunates, their husbands. In the matching of tales the most experienced of them all, the "wedo," outdoes the "weddit women ȝing," and she urges them on, with questionable advice, to more violent rebellion. The close, in which the poet relates that after their departure he withdraws to a pleasant arbour to write down all that he has heard, is in the vein of Chaucer rather than of the *trouvère*; but the narrative as a whole is strangely reminiscent of the Old French *chanson d'aventure* already described,<sup>32</sup> in which two young brides, brightly and richly clad, are incited to rebellion against their absent husbands by the violence of a third, the eldest of them all. Moreover, the points urged by the "Wedo" and her "cumaris,"—the churlishness of the husband, the endlessness of the marriage-bond, the hope of consolation from a seemlier friend, "the seuerance be-

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Schipper, *William Dunbar*, p. 144; Mead, "The Prologue of the Wife of Bath's Tale," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xvi. pp. 388 ff.; Lowes, "Chaucer and the *Miroir de Mariage*," iii. *Mod. Philol.* viii. pp. 305 ff. The eldest of these three *mal mariées* is, indeed, a widow, like Dame Alisoun.

<sup>31</sup> *A Talk of Ten Wives on their Husband's Ware* (ed. Furnivall, *Jyl of Breynlford's Testament*, Ballad Soc. 1871) from Porkington MS. 10, c. 1460, presents the women exchanging experiences; but there is no trace of the *chanson d'aventure* form, nor does any one woman take the part of adviser-in-chief.

<sup>32</sup> Bartsch, I. 21; above, Chap. I. § B. Cf. also three women in later French songs, Paris, *Chansons*, nos. 21, 88.

tuix his [the husband's] bastard blude " and the woman's "birth noble," and many others,—though doubtless they have come to Dunbar through the medium of the satirists, Chaucer and Deschamps and Jean de Meun,<sup>33</sup> are such as can claim ultimate origin in the *chansons de mal mariée* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

It would seem, then, that Dunbar's poem owes its central situation directly, and some of its details probably indirectly, to the French lyrics of adventure. The theory offers nothing improbable. Dunbar undoubtedly was familiar with the foreign convention. Poets of his school wrote amorous adventure-lyrics,<sup>34</sup> and he himself produced several other modifications of the type.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, his *Tua Mariit Wemen* belongs to the years immediately subsequent to the *wanderjahre* spent in France,<sup>36</sup> during which he could hardly have failed to hear the songs of the folk as well as those of Chartier, Charles d'Orléans, and Villon, who have been pointed out as the poets most likely to have influenced him; among the popular songs those relating to the *mal mariée* would have, by virtue of their piquancy, a peculiar appeal to a satirist like Dunbar. Taking some song of adventure with *trois dames mariées de novel* as a basis, he amplified and modified it, we may conjecture, under the influence of the Wife's famous *Prologue*. Perhaps as a *tour de force* he cast the whole into the form of the long alliterative narratives, which were enjoying a considerable vogue in the North in his time; a procedure the more explicable in view of the fact that

<sup>33</sup> The probability that the early *chansons de mal mariée* have influenced the laments of La Vielle, Le Jaloux, and other precursors of the Wife of Bath has not been mentioned by Professor Mead or Professor Lowes.

<sup>34</sup> A 6, 10, 12, 20, 21, 24, 34, 35, 42.

<sup>35</sup> A 23, R 20, M 21 are Dunbar's; D 2 b is ascribed to him.

<sup>36</sup> On the date and conditions under which the poem was written, cf. Schipper, *William Dunbar*, p. 135; Dunbar, ed. Scot. Text Soc. I. pp. xxvi ff., lxxxvii, clviii.

the alliterative poems commonly open with a nature setting in which the poet appears as narrator. Whatever his method of composition may have been, it was certainly not uninfluenced by the tradition of the *chansons d'aventure* that present the *femme mal mariée*.

An unfortunate lover or mismated husband replaces the woman in a few English and Scotch songs.<sup>37</sup> The complaints of the lover are prevailingly courtly. Leadon-hued wights in pleasant gardens<sup>38</sup> make their moan for ladies fair as Helen of Greece, but false, or pitiless, or perhaps lost through death;<sup>39</sup> among them no Robin bewails the caprices of a Marot. One "berne abbydyng on the bent," about whose "freche effeir" there is a suggestion of miraculous light, proves to be Pandarus, who "sumtyme servit the gud knyght Troyelus"; hardly a lover himself, to be sure, but certainly a counsellor competent to tell the questioning poet "quhen ladeis to thair luvaris salbe leill."<sup>40</sup> But the popular note is not wholly lacking. The lover who is driven by his cruel mistress to mourn, "I well perseyue that I shall dye," relieves his feelings prettily, if inconsequentially, by the refrain:

Colle to me the rysshys grene, colle to me!<sup>41</sup>

Less refined taste marks the poems that present the Scottish "heynd cheild" and his English counterpart, "good Jo-

<sup>37</sup> Lover's lament, A 11, 12, 17, 33, 34, 40, 44, all c. 1500 or later; Wyatt is the author of 33; 12 and 24 are Scotch. Mismated husband's lament, A 31, 42, both c. 1500 or later; 42 is Scotch.

<sup>38</sup> A 17, 44. "He had lost his colour cleane" finds French precedent (Bartsch, I. 61; *si pert a ma color*), but is probably inspired in these Tudor songs by Lydgate's *Black Knight* (Skeat, *Chauc. Pieces*, p. 249, l. 132) and Chaucer's "man in blak" (*Boke of the Duchesse*, Chaucer, Globe Edition, l. 445).

<sup>39</sup> Compared to Helen, A 34; false, 33; pitiless, 11, 17; removed by death, 44 (presumably), a poem which is suggestive of the *Black Knight* and the *Boke of the Duchesse*.

<sup>40</sup> A 12.

<sup>41</sup> A 11.

han";<sup>42</sup> they harp on the laughter-provoking theme of the husband so misused and beaten by a scolding wife that her death would be "great joye":

God gif I wer wedo now!

But whether he sing for court or tavern, the composer of these lyrics refrains from offering comfort in the superior manner dear to the *trouvère*;<sup>43</sup> he is always content to utter no more than the traditional leading question.

Dialogues between lovers are very few among pre-Elizabethan *chansons d'aventure*<sup>44</sup> and very remote in spirit from their French origin. Debates of amorous request and resistance are found in an unpleasant account of a Scotch "bern" and his "briht"<sup>45</sup> and in a *jeu d'esprit* from the repertory of a ballad-singer, which begins succinctly:

<sup>42</sup> A 31, 42.

<sup>43</sup> He offers such counsel in Wyatt's "A Robyn, / joly Robyn" (Padelford, *XVI. Cent. Lyrics*, p. 10), not to be classed as a *pastourelle* in the technical sense, since the obligatory *début* is lacking.

<sup>44</sup> A 15, 23, 25.—The amorous debate independent of the conventional framework exists abundantly; e. g., the dialogue of the clerk and the girl (Böddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.* p. 172), the *Nut Brown Maid* (Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 34), and "Hey, trolly loly lo, maid, whither go you?" and "Come over the woodes fair and green" (*ibid.*, pp. 62, 64). The debate in *chanson d'aventure* form occurs in late street-ballads; cf. among many, *Shirburn Ballads*, ed. Clark, Oxford, 1907, no. 52, p. 220, "All in a garden green," a song more directly related to the *chansons d'aventure* of France and England than to the twenty-seventh Idyll of Theocritus, of which the editor says it is an imitation. *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, translated by Richard Ros (*Polit. Relig. and Love Poems*, p. 80) and the *Craft of Lovers* (cf. Hammond, *Chaucer, A Bibliographical Manual*, p. 420) are examples of the non-lyric *débat d'amour* fitted out with a setting resembling that of the *chanson d'aventure* and probably ultimately indebted to it. (The debate between lover and lady, MS. Sloane 1710, referred to by Padelford, *Cambr. Hist. of Engl. Lit.* II. p. 442, is a fragment of Ros's *La Belle Dame*, comprising strophes 13-18, 25-96 of Furnivall's text.)

<sup>45</sup> A 23.



I hard lately to a ladye  
A lover say . . . ;<sup>46</sup>

also in a scrap of song raised from the semi-popular level by some Tudor "master of music."<sup>47</sup>

The amorous pastime of a rustic group, which is presented in the French *pastourelle objective*, furnishes the theme for no Middle English *chanson d'aventure*, but the probability that such adventure-songs were current in fifteenth century England is suggested not only by the several religious and other adaptations of that period, presenting shepherds or other rustics in converse, but also by an Elizabethan *chanson d'aventure* that presents the type in unmistakably English form; the nut-brown milk-maids are interested not alone in their lovers, but also in their maypoles and their May queen.<sup>48</sup>

The English nightingale, like the *rossignol*, sings for the delight or solace of the English poet-lovers. Sometimes her

<sup>46</sup> A 15. In 15 and 23 the tendency to equal apportionment of dialogue, such as characterizes the formal *débat*, is evident; 15 is comparable in succinctness to the *ballade* of G. de Lannoy, *Rom.* XXXIX. p. 357.

<sup>47</sup> A 25.

<sup>48</sup> Ms. Harl. 4286, f. 62 b; the poem occurs together with several by the Earl of Oxford.

- 1 As I me walked hard by a riueers side hey no no  
to cuntry milck maydes I chanced to espye hey no no
- 2 The on wase as fayre as fare might be  
the other wase of nut browne with a rowling eye
- 3 much taleke ther passed them betwene  
of ther cuntry may poles and of ther sommerry queene
- 4 ther petecotes of scarlet ther wascotes of red  
with milck white aprones and strawne hates on ther heades
- 5 Long poyntes with siluer tages aboute her armes thay wore  
[?Grealte ringes with poses more youris then my owne
- 6 And to requite ther poyntes and ther ringes  
thay gaue ther louers garlandes with many tricky thynges
- 7 thus thay did passe the longe sommeres daye  
thaye tocke ther nut browne milck paks [?pails] and so they went  
ther way

song retains a joyous note of springtime, "soo fresch, soo gay," as in the famous Tudor ditty:

She sayd wynter was past, hey how!  
 Than dyry cum dawn dyry cum dyry cum dyry  
 Cum dyry cum dyry cum dawn, hey how! <sup>49</sup>

But her tastes and training are not altogether of the greenwood. With the traditional thorn under her heart "to kepe hur fro slepe," she sings a song <sup>50</sup> calling on young lovers to awake; the words with which she addresses the lover in an alluring fragment advise him, we may suppose, to love loyally in hope of better speed:

I haue loued so many a day, lightly spedde bot better I may  
 pis ender day wen me was wo under a bugh þer I lay  
 Night gale to mene me to . . . <sup>51</sup>

In a more elaborate lyric,<sup>52</sup> composed not long after Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*, and devoid of popular elements, the woe-begone poet overhears the nightingale and many other songsters joining in an antiphonal chorus to give praise to loyal love, and also to defend it against the attacks made by cuckoo, pie, fieldfare and jay. Each bird in his allotted strophe expounds his views of love or tells of his own languishing; each—with the exception of starling, fieldfare, and cuckoo, the latter of whom announces, "I can no french "

<sup>49</sup> A 7. Cf. Morley's *Madrigals*, 1594 (ed. Bolle, *Palaestra*, xxix. p. 75): "On a faire morning, as I came by the way"; a wanton spirit of revolt and the hint of woman's dominance are suggestive of the primitive *chanson de printemps*. It is doubtful whether the more important figure is the "merry maide" or the bird.

<sup>50</sup> Perhaps she merely suggests the song to the poet. In either case, there is no trace of converse between poet and bird.

<sup>51</sup> A 38. The fragment suggests a closer resemblance to the French models than do any of the other bird-songs, but the brevity precludes certain judgment.

<sup>52</sup> A 22.

—ends his stanza with a line borrowed from some *chanson d'amour*.<sup>53</sup> The throstle-cock closes the chorus in serious English fashion by announcing that it is “no stedefastnesse”

In loue to turne as a bal;

*En dieu maffie sanz departer.*

Though the poem is obviously dependent on Chaucer's *Parlement* for much of its detail, as its editor has pointed out,<sup>54</sup> it does not owe its structure to Chaucer's poem; it has no suggestion of a formal council, of opinions heard and weighed and of a decision rendered, and it relates an actual adventure and no dream. For the device of the formal antiphonal chorus doubtless it is indebted ultimately to the popular mediæval tradition represented most notably by *La Messe des Oisiaus*; <sup>55</sup> but the English poem is a simple adventure-lyric, not an elaborate and allegorical vision-poem, it concerns itself solely with the responsive chorus, which is merely the central incident of the *Messe* and similar poems, and it is not a parody of the divine service. Structurally, in other words, it derives neither from Chaucer's poem nor from such poems as *La Messe des Oisiaus*; it is an adventure-lyric, though obviously one not derived immediately from any of the known French *chansons d'aventure*.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> E. g., *Qui bien ayme tard oublye*, the mavis's song, on which cf. Jörnström, *Rec. de Chansons Pieuses*, pp. 137, 141; also Paris, *Chansons*, no. 53, Schick, *Temple of Glas*, E. E. T. S. Extra Series LX.—The genesis of this particular strophic form is uncertain; it has manifest affinity with the form of the *chanson glosée* (cf. Brakelmann, Herrig's *Archiv*, XLIII. pp. 323, 349, notes; Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 106, n. 1) and of vernacular poems in which each stanza ends with a Latin cauda (cf. Thureau, *Der Refrain*, pp. 277 f.; also R 11, 24; D 9, 30, etc.).

<sup>54</sup> Cf. also Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, I. p. 55.

<sup>55</sup> Scheler, *Dits et Contes*, III. pp. 1 ff.; cf. Neilson, *Court of Love*, pp. 67 ff., 225 f.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *England's Helicon*, ed. Grosart, 1812, p. 233, for a song (not an adventure-song) reminiscent in theme and form of this later *Parliament*.

The *pastourelles*, which are extremely abundant in France, form a small minority among the English songs of love-adventure,<sup>57</sup>—a fact that is not surprising to one who has noted in the English *chansons dramatiques* the author's disinclination towards a prominent rôle and his failure to bring out a piquant contrast between his station and that of the "littel mai" whose plaint he overhears. But in spite of its infrequency, the *pastourelle* is perhaps the most prominent type of English adventure-song, not only because of the important place that it fills among the texts written down about 1300,<sup>58</sup> but also because of the strikingly dramatic character of the action involved. This action is, indeed, in general a repetition of that presented in the French *pastourelles*. The poet listens to the maiden's song,<sup>59</sup> which is at times her love-lament, and salutes and questions her;<sup>60</sup> he offers his love as abruptly as does the impertinent *trouvère*, and seeks to win her by similar arguments and promises.<sup>61</sup> At his approach the maiden is sometimes pleased, sometimes

<sup>57</sup> There are but nine *pastourelles*, normal or modified, that reach a definite *dénouement* (A 4, 5, 10, 14, 16, 24, 29, 36, 41) and four that are undeveloped (A 1, 28, 30, 35). Several well-known Tudor songs preserve the typical *pastourelle* dialogue without the form of the *chanson d'aventure*: "Hey, trolly loly lo" and "Come over the woodes" (Chambers and Sidgwick, pp. 62, 64); also "When that byrdes be brought to rest" (*Anglia*, xxxi. p. 380) and "Ane fare sweit may of mony one" (Pinkerton, *Anc. Scot. Poems*, p. 190), both of which have reminiscences of the nature-setting.

<sup>58</sup> A 4, 16, 30 are texts of the early fourteenth century; this early development is presaged by the Anglo-Norman *pastourelle* of the thirteenth (cf. above, Ch. I. § B, n. 106).

<sup>59</sup> A 5, 29, 36. He may devote a word or two to her beauty, A 4, 10, 16, 24, etc.

<sup>60</sup> He salutes her, A 4 (in Christ's name), 24; he bids or causes her to "abide," A 4, 10, 14; he questions her, A 16 (who she is), 36 (why she comes alone).

<sup>61</sup> He flatters her (A 4, 16), assures her of his sincerity (24, 36, 41), promises to observe secrecy (10, 14), prays for pity (1, 36), compares himself with other possible lovers (16, 36), and offers her clothes (16), ring and purse (41), high place (29).



afraid, sometimes angry.<sup>62</sup> She refuses his love with genuine indignation:

She bar me fast on hond þat I began to raue  
And bad me fond ferþer a fol for to fech.

· · · · ·  
'þu findis hir nout hire þe sot þat þu sech.

· · · · ·  
It is no mister your word forto wast;

· · · · ·  
Wend fort þer ye wenin better for to spede;'<sup>63</sup>

or through fear lest he will soon tire of her and leave her to be shamed, or lest her "dame" will punish her.<sup>64</sup> She usually succeeds in discomfiting the presumptuous intruder,<sup>65</sup> or yields only against her will, burning with anger when her quiet request for amends is scoffingly refused;<sup>66</sup> but occasionally—though examples are found only in the Scotch poems—the heroine is as manifestly insincere in her temporary resistance as are most of the coy *bergerettes*.<sup>67</sup> The *dénouement* typical of the French *pastourelles*, when presented,<sup>68</sup> equals in explicitness its least admirable models. The lover usually accepts defeat or success in silence, but in late instances he is mocking or rebellious.<sup>69</sup>

In spite of the evident French genesis of these *pastourelles*,

<sup>62</sup> Cf. A 4, 14, 10, etc.

<sup>63</sup> A 4; cf. A 36, 41. Compare the French: *certes fole seroie, vostre parole gastez, ales vostre voie*, etc.

<sup>64</sup> A 16, 41. She argues that she is too mean a maid in the ballad, A 29; that she is faithful to her lover (A 29 and possibly 14; cf. ll. 18-21).

<sup>65</sup> A 4, 14, 16.

<sup>66</sup> A 41.

<sup>67</sup> A 10, 24.

<sup>68</sup> A 24 (Scotch), 41 (minstrel-ballad).

<sup>69</sup> A 41, 14. But the phrases with which the "Jacke" of 41 sets aside the girl's request are a ballad commonplace (cf. Child, *Ballads*, I. pp. 444, 446), and not an echo of the *trouvère's* mockery.

none of them so faithfully repeats the foreign models as does the Little Maid's Lament.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, most of them differ notably with regard to the special type of lyric poetry that they employ. One, though a typical *pastourelle* as regards the action portrayed, disguises the maiden as a mavis,—a device characteristic of the Tudor love-lyric.<sup>71</sup> *The Murning Maidin*<sup>72</sup> is influenced by the outlaw ballads; the girl, clad in green to glad the May, explains—

Thus man I bow and arrowis beir  
Because I am ane baneist wycht,

and promises that while she is "under the levis grene" she will "no wyld beist wait with wrang." *The Crow and the Pie*<sup>73</sup> is a minstrel-ballad wholly devoted to the *pastourelle*

<sup>70</sup> A 4 and 16, both c. 1310, most clearly show traces of direct French influence, in spite of their different tenor; 10 and 24, both late Scotch, are closer than any of the others to the French *pastourelles* in realism and vivacity.

<sup>71</sup> A 14. Cf. "The lytyll prety nyȝtyngale" (*Anglia*, XII. p. 263; cf. other songs using the phrase, "ye wot not whome I mene": *ibid.*, p. 260; MS. Ashmole 176, *sæc.* XVI. f. 100): the poems on "Robin reddebrest" and the "whyte" in *The Forrest of Fancy*, by H. C., 1579 (Corser, *Collectanea*, pt. III. Chetham Soc. LXXI. pp. 217 ff.): also "Sore this dere strykyn ys" (*Anglia*, XII. p. 238) and a similar *chanson d'aventure*, probably *sæc.* XVI. end, of which a modern transcript occurs in MS. Addit. 25478: "Yt was my chance for to advance myself not long agoe." Possibly the identification of heroine and mavis is a confusion arising from the fact that the mavis is mentioned in the first four lines, which may, in some earlier form, have represented the burden sung by a maiden, the true heroine; compare the four lines in question:

Hay how the mavys  
on a brere  
she satt and sang  
with notes clere

with the lines contained in a medley in Constable's MS. *Cantus*, *sæc.* XVII (cf. Chambers, *The Scottish Songs*, I. p. xxxvi): "The mavis on a tree she sat | Sing with notes clear."

<sup>72</sup> A 36.

<sup>73</sup> A 41.

theme. *Christopher White* and *John of Hazelgreen*<sup>74</sup> are ballads in which the setting and situation peculiar to the *pastourelle* have been taken as point of departure; in the former a true *pastourelle*, growing out of the lament of a "well faire mayd," gives opportunity for a long sequel relating events occurring after "monthes two or three," and in the latter the intruding poet presents his plea, not for himself, but for his eldest son, who in the closing stanzas proves to be the very lover for whom the lady fair is letting the tears down fall.<sup>75</sup> Obviously these poems belong among the native ballads, but no less obviously the situation with which they open has come by some devious path from the *pastourelle* of mediæval France. The song beginning, "As I came by a bowre soo fayr" is in substance a *pastourelle*, though undeveloped beyond the poet's plea for favour, which is couched in courtly terms; the poet is "taken a prysoner," languishes, sleepless, in love's chains, and dares ask for no more than "some almes dede for owr ladyes sake."<sup>76</sup> Similarly, the song from Forbes's *Cantus* resolves itself after the encounter with the "may both fair and gay" into the pleading of the poet, her lover, who is "banisht through false report."<sup>77</sup> *Tayis Bank*, like the early undeveloped *pastourelle* of the rider by Rybbesdale,<sup>78</sup> is devoted completely after the record

<sup>74</sup> A 5, 29. For details characteristic of the *pastourelle*, cf. in 5, ll. 5, 10, 15, 21 ff.; in 29 (Text A), ll. 6, 9-10, 33-34, 36, 38-41, 51 ff. In 5, 29, and 41 the poet soon comes to speak of himself in the third person, as occasionally the *trouvère* does.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. the Old French *pastourelle* that ends with a lovers' meeting, Bartsch, II. 63.

<sup>76</sup> A 1. The *trouvère* speaks of himself as the prisoner of love, presumably referring to his devotion to some great lady, certainly not to his sudden fancy for Marot (Bartsch, II. 35).

<sup>77</sup> A 28. The existing copy (sæc. xvii) must represent an older text, since a religious adaptation exists in R 23, sæc. xvi. first half.—A *chevalier* complains likewise of the *faus losengier*, Bartsch, I. 61.

<sup>78</sup> A 35, like A 30 (c. 1310). The poet's caution in A 35 is explicable if the Mergrit of his song is really the daughter of the Drummonds of Perth, beloved by James IV., as has been supposed (cf. Laing, *Early Pop. Poetry*, note, I. pp. 169-171).

of the maiden's appearance to a glowing description of her beauty; the poet does not tell his sudden love. For these restrained variations of the usual *pastourelle* there is practically no French precedent.<sup>79</sup>

In spirit, too, the English and Scotch *pastourelles* show certain differences from their foreign prototypes, which mark them as the productions of poets more interested in the human emotions, or even the moral issues, involved in their narratives, than in the narrative itself, and in a *dénouement* contrived to flatter their self-importance. In the first place there is practically nothing to suggest, much less to emphasize, class distinction between the maiden and her chance wooer.<sup>80</sup> The former is never a shepherdess, and though she is usually a creature of field or meadow, and by implication of less wealth than her suitor, yet she is apparently of no lower social rank, and is usually possessed of a dignity and independence that raise her perceptibly above the level of the *pastoure* who half-invites, half-resists and lightly yields; in one of the earliest songs<sup>81</sup> she comes clad in fur and "riche riban gold begon," and as she walks through the meadow she keeps her eyes fast upon her book,—a strange proceeding for a descendent of the chaplet-weaving shepherdess. The lover is a mounted cavalier in only a few instances,<sup>82</sup> and in one case the significance of his riding is entirely destroyed by the fact that the Gill whom he meets likewise "comes rydyng;"<sup>83</sup> if this Gill addresses him once as "corteor," she adds in the same breath, "pluke vp your helys, I yow beshrew," and scorns him with the titles "Hew,"

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Bartsch, I. 52, II. 63.

<sup>80</sup> Except in the ballads A 5, 29. There is a stronger impression of class distinction in the songs "Hey, trolly loly lo" and "Come over the woodes" noted above, note 44; but the lovers here are no true courtiers. The poet-lover and lady are both of some rank in A 1, 35.

<sup>81</sup> A 4.

<sup>82</sup> A 29, 30, 41; possibly 35 (cf. "ran I" and "I red").

<sup>83</sup> A 41.



and "Jenken," and "knave." Moreover, as has been noted, the girl's resistance is likely to be sincere and based on moral grounds unknown to the *bergère*:

Betere is were þunne boutē laste  
þen syde robes ant synke in to synne.<sup>84</sup>

The only examples of her coy refusal occur in late Scotch poems, and of her unheeded denial in minstrel-ballads. The yielding of the "murning maidin," though voluntary, is to a plea such as no *chevalier* offers:

Than knelit I befor that cleir  
And meiklie could hir mercie craif;  
That semelie than, with sobir cheir,  
Me of hir gudlines forgaif.  
It wes no neid, I wys,  
To bid us uther kys;  
Thair mycht no hairts mair joy resaif,  
Nor ather culd of uther haif:  
Thus brocht wer we to blys.<sup>85</sup>

Finally, the traditional gross ending is usually avoided,—though two Scotch examples and the ballad of *Crow and Pie* offer exceptions,—or is handled with reserve; the undeveloped *pastourelles* eliminate all the action, or all that regularly follows the poet's first proffer of devotion. Thus the "sage and serious" English poets have delivered the *pastourelle* from much of its aristocratic bias: they have made it seem less like a bit of conventional pretense offered for the amusement of a courtly singer and his courtly audience, and have given it more of the sincerity that marks the popular ballad. They have invested it, too, with dignity and reserve. But they have robbed it of its rapid, almost tumultuous,

<sup>84</sup> A 16; the only comparable passage in the French *chansons* (Bartsch, III. 1) is not concerned at all with the idea of the sin involved.

<sup>85</sup> A 36.

movement, and likewise of its only other boast, its light and artificial grace. One feels that the poets with sober moral strain might have done better to direct their energies elsewhere, leaving the French cavalier and shepherdess undisturbed in their world of make-believe.

The love-laments uttered by the wandering poets are only nominally *chansons d'aventure*. They have adopted the setting in regular or modified form:

Not far fro marche in the ende of feuaryere  
Allon I went vpon myn awn dysport,<sup>86</sup>

or,

As I stooode in studyinge alloone  
· · · · ·  
By myself bemenyng my moone.<sup>87</sup>

They maintain the semblance of an actual adventure-poem; the author tells that he "gan to vnfolde" his woe to himself<sup>88</sup> or to the figure that appears to question him, the "myghti gret goddes" of love, or his own hope in human form.<sup>89</sup> But, concerned as they are solely with the poet's own feeling, they are properly foreign to the objective songs of adventure. They are imitations<sup>90</sup> of the courtly poems of Charles d'Orléans and his school, which have borrowed only the opening formula of the *chanson d'aventure*.

<sup>86</sup> A 32. (Possibly the poet's grievance is political; cf. note on A 32 in Appendix B.)

<sup>87</sup> A 3.

<sup>88</sup> A 3, 32, 46. In A 21 the pretense of an actual time and setting is dropped, but resumed vaguely in the closing line.

<sup>89</sup> A 26, 3.

<sup>90</sup> A 26 is a literal translation of a poem by Charles d'Orléans (the single known case of direct translation in A, and indeed, except for R 12, in any of the four groups). A 26, 32, 46 are attributed by Professor MacCracken to the Duke of Suffolk, the friend of Charles d'Orléans (cf. A 26, Appendix B).

## B. RELIGIOUS

Religious *chansons d'aventure* appear in England as early as their earliest amorous counterparts. They are as numerous in the fourteenth century as the songs of love-adventure, and twice as numerous in the fifteenth, when they find a place among the ponderous products of the Lydgatians as well as among the bright carols; but after 1500 they are decidedly outnumbered by the love-lyrics.

The forms that are proper to the amorous *chanson dramatique* are reproduced among the religious *chansons d'aventure*; the monologue of a maiden or a man, the dialogue, the conversation of a group, and the chorus of birds are overheard by an unobtrusive poet. The only forms, in fact, that do not appear in religious revision are the lament of the maid as yet unloved and of the *femme mal mariée*,—the latter especially being a form that does not readily lend itself to religious adaptation.<sup>1</sup> Among the monologues those of Mary are more numerous than those of her Son; and among them all there is but one by a singer "withowt dystresse, in grete lyghtnesse." This is a carol which has apparently been suggested by some secular song like that of Besse "makyng her mone" in the wilderness because she is "goten with child":<sup>2</sup>

Under a tre, in sportyng me  
Alone by a wod syd,  
I hard a mayd that swetly sayd,  
I am with chyld this tyd.<sup>3</sup>

But her song proves to be of "rejoycyng":

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, the theme allegorized by a French clerk, laboring *prava in bonum exponere*, who explains that the *dame mau mariée* is the soul, bound to sin, and that the Saviour calls it to his love. (A. Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Française au Moyen Age*, 1868, pp. 186 f.)

<sup>2</sup> A 27; cf. A 43.

<sup>3</sup> R 26.

Gracyusly conceyvyd have I  
The son of God so swete;

and its burden is a happy "nowel."<sup>4</sup>

The laments of Mary and Christ in *chanson d'aventure* form<sup>5</sup> are the results of a somewhat different process of adaptation; they are with a single exception<sup>6</sup> formal *planctus*, such as might exist (and in fact in two cases<sup>7</sup> do exist) independent of the framework; each has been fitted out with a preface borrowed either from some amorous *chanson d'aventure* or from some religious poem that has already adopted such a preface.<sup>8</sup> Thus a *planctus Mariae* in unbroken monologue form constitutes the body of the poem beginning:

In a chyrch as I gan knelle  
Thys endres dey fore to here messe,  
I saw a syȝht me lykyd welle;  
.  
.  
.  
I saw a pyte in a place.<sup>9</sup>

The *planctus Christi* are monologues interrupted only by the poet's sympathetic question:

I askide whi he had peynynge,  
He seide 'quia amore langueo';<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup>In some of its phrasing, as in its burden, it connects itself with the lullaby-carols; cf. ll. 15-16 ("With my derlyng, lullay to syng | And lovely hym to roke") ll. 20, 21, etc.

<sup>5</sup>R 1, 11, 18 (Mary); 19, 24 (Christ).

<sup>6</sup>R 1.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. R 18 in Appendix B; also R 24.

<sup>8</sup>R 11 and 19 (beginning respectively, "As resoun rewlid my richelees mynde" and "In a valey of pis restles mynde") seem to be making independent use of a formula already established for prefaces to spiritualized adventure-songs. Cf. also R 18 (c. 1500) which employs almost the same modification of the usual formula as D 22 a (c. 1370).

<sup>9</sup>R 18.

<sup>10</sup>R 19. The phraseology of the *planctus* owes much to the *Song of*



or by his abrupt adoption of the rôle of interpreter:

Criste on a crosse I sawe hangyng,

To man he cried and sayde, 'Alas!

Why art þou, man, vnkynde to me?

And now I dye to geve þe grace.

*Quid ultra debui facere?*'

Criste Ihesu pies wordes may saye

To euery creature þat is vnkynde:

'What shulde I more, man, I þe praye?'<sup>11</sup>

The well-known Mary-lament on the theme, *Filius regis mortuus est*<sup>12</sup> is likewise, in two versions, a monologue, not interrupted even by the poet's question; in a third it is answered, in the poet's hearing, by a "voice from heuen" announcing, "*filius Regis is alyve et non mortuus est*"; in a fourth it forms the basis for a dramatic scene in which the poet plays the consoler, informer, questioner, and expositor, going at Mary's bidding to worship at the Cross, meeting three women and "angelis with gret lithe," returning to the mourning mother with the tidings, *Resurrexit! non mortuus est*, and finally explaining to his readers why it was necessary that the King's Son should die. The traditional carol, "All under the leaves and the leaves of life,"<sup>13</sup> has the appearance of being a popular echo of some such elaborate *planctus*. The poet meets Mary, one of seven virgins, and on learning that she seeks her Son, he bids her go down to

Solomon (cf. Furnivall's side notes, *Polit. Relig. and Love Poems*, pp. 181 ff.).—For *Quia Amore Languco* (*Cant. Cant.* II. 5 and v. 8) taken as a text, cf. *The Form of Perfect Living*, ed. Horstmann, *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, London, 1895, I. p. 29.

<sup>11</sup> R 24.—For *Quid Ultra Debui Facere* as the text of a sermon in verse, cf. MS. Ashmole 189, Pt. II. f. 104 (sæc. XV); there are some parallels with R 24, but the poem is not a *planctus*.

<sup>12</sup> R 11.

<sup>13</sup> R 1.

yonder town and behold sweet Jesus Christ nailed to a yew tree. Mary goes, weeps at the foot of the Cross, and is comforted by her Son. In such poems as the last two the poet necessarily maintains, more or less consistently, the part of adventurer; but in the simpler forms he abandons it the moment that Mary or Christ begins to utter the *planctus* proper. He makes use, too, of an abbreviated preface that contains little suggestion of an actual, human encounter; in only one instance—Christ's *Quia Amore Languéo*—do traces of the usual preliminary action remain:

In a valey of þis restles mynde  
 I souzte in mounteyne *and* in myde  
 Trustynge a trewe loue for to fynde.  
 Vpon an hil þan y took hede;  
 A voice y herde—*and* neer y ȝede—  
 In hüge dolour complaynyng þo,  
 'Se, dere soule, how my sidis blede,  
*Quia amore languéo.*'

Vpon þis hil y fond a tree;  
 Vndir þe tree a man sittynge.  
 From heed to foot woundid was he,  
 His herte blood y siȝ bledinge:—  
 A semeli man to ben a king,  
 A graciously face to loken vnto;  
 I askide whi he had peynyng.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> R 19.—Certain other *planctus* may be mentioned here because they are set into a narrative framework; they differ from the *chanson d'aventure* proper by virtue of the vision element. Cf. the *Quia Amore Languéo* of Mary (*Polit. Relig. and Love Poems*, p. 177) of which R 19 is probably a kind of continuation (cf. note, p. 180, and also the fact that a comparison of this text and those of Harl. 1706 and Douce 322, both *sæc.* xv, proves that the three must have a common source); "Who cannot wepe," *Hymns to V. and C.* p. 126; "My feerful dreame," Herrig's *Archiv*, cvl. p. 64.—The carol beginning, "I hard a maydyn wepe | ffor here sonnys passyon" (MS. Cambr. Ee. 1. 12, *sæc.* xv. f. 1 b) is a dramatic narrative of the Passion; the maiden does not appear

The dialogues between Mary and Christ take the form of carols, divine lullabies.<sup>15</sup> One, occurring in a song-book of the early sixteenth century, represents an incomplete transformation of a maiden's love-lament into a religious lullaby-song, as the setting and the incongruous burden testify:

Alone, alone, alone, alone  
 Alone, alone, alone.  
 Here I sytt alone, alas, alone.  
 As I me walkyd this endurs day  
 To the grene wode for to play  
 and all heuyness to put away  
 myselfe alone  
 As I walkyd vnder the grene wode bowe  
 I sawe a maide fayre I now  
 a childe she hoppid she song she lough  
 þat childe wepid alone.<sup>16</sup>

It is not till this point, half-way through the song, that the dialogue of the usual lullaby type begins, proving that this child is the One born "to save mankind." The other lyrics of this class show no traces of such metamorphosis. They retain a maiden as their foremost figure, it is true, and they are embellished with prefatory lines familiarized to their composers through many an adventure-song, secular or religious:

As I up ros in a mornynge  
 My thowth was on a mayd yng  
 That song aslep with hyr lullyng  
 Her swet son, ovr Savowr;<sup>17</sup>

after l. l. (The lines are formulaary; cf. their use as burden in a similar poem, Dyboski, *Ball. MS.* 354, p. 41; cf. also "I saw my lady weep-(ing)," Arber, *An English Garner*, III. p. 41, IV. p. 522.)

<sup>15</sup> R 5, 6, 7; R 1 ("All under the leaves") mentioned in connection with the *planctus*, introduces conversation between Mary and her crucified Son.

<sup>16</sup> R 6.

<sup>17</sup> R 5.

but they are genuine sacred carols, as the plaintive words of the babe attest:

‘Syng now, moder!’ sayd þe child,  
 ‘What schal me beffalle  
 Aftur wen I come til eld,  
 ffor so done moders all.’<sup>18</sup>

The French adventure-song introducing a pastoral group finds counterpart in some sixteenth century carols in which the poet rides out to hear the “terli terlow” of three holy shepherds, or their cries of wonder at the heavenly chorus, *Veritas de terra orta est*, and follows their star-guided way to “Bethlem”;<sup>19</sup> in an earlier song of more didactic strain the narrator finds a bright woman in an arbour singing *Verbum caro factum est*, and learns the meaning of the words from her and from three shepherds and three kings whom he meets “ferþere more in þat fryth.”<sup>20</sup> A very different group greets the poet of a winsome carol as he passes by a chapel;<sup>21</sup> for there he sees Our Lord, carrying a chalice of rich red gold to the service, while St. Thomas rings the bells and St. George tends the fair tapers. To the adventure-

<sup>18</sup> R 7. For dialogues similarly introduced, but with a stronger suggestion of the vision, cf. the lullabies beginning, “This endris night I saw a sight” (Chambers and Sidgwick, pp. 119, 121, Herrig’s *Archiv*, cvi. p. 60), also one of which a very poor text exists in Ms. Harl. 2380 (sæc. xv. late), f. 70 b (“þis endres nyght About mydayght [sic] As I me lay for to selepe”).—In many carols only the element of the poet’s presence survives; cf. “I saw a fayr maydyn syttyn and synge,” Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 131; cf. also Rickert, *Carols*, p. 59; Dyboski, *Ball. MS. 354*, pp. 21, 23, Sylvester, *Christmas Carols*, p. 41, etc.—A vision poem, sæc. xv. (Ms. Harl. 2255, f. 150 b) presents a dialogue between Christ and Mary, who has been translated to heaven, and who is lauded by celestial choirs singing *Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas*, which forms the refrain line. The poem begins, “Undir a park ful prudently pyght.”

<sup>19</sup> R 8, 3.—“I heard a mess of merry shepherds sing” (Rickert, *Carols*, p. 109) is comparable.

<sup>20</sup> R 10.

<sup>21</sup> R 2.



carols of this type the traditional ballad of *The Carnal and the Crane*<sup>22</sup> belongs by virtue of its substance, in spite of the fact that the speakers are not shepherds; the crane "in argument" tells the carnal of a Child whose cradle was softened not with silken sheets but with provender rejected by asses, and whose sacred life King Herod sought in vain.

The only one of these lyrics that suggests even remotely an amorous original is the *Verbum Caro Factum Est*, which opens in the manner of secular song:

I passud thorow a garden grene  
 I fond a herbere made full newe  
 A semelyor syght I haff noght sene  
 O ylke tree sange a tyrtull trew  
 Theryn a maydon bryght off hew  
 And euer sche sange and neuer sche sesest,

but which continues in the fashion adopted by the English moralists from the inquisitive strolling lovers:

I askud that mayden what sche mentt  
 Sche bad me byde and I schuld here  
 What sche sayd I toke gude tent  
 In hyr songe had sche voice full clere.

Among the religious *chansons dramatiques* the nightingale is found warbling of the risen Christ just as she has sung in the love-lyrics of young lovers and the May. It is not at all remarkable that birds should be represented as singing on sacred themes; the secular poet himself listens to the lark as it *chante et loie son signor*.<sup>23</sup> The pious clerks were perhaps especially impelled to compose divine avian choruses by their desire to counteract the excessive praise of earthly love commonly attributed to the songsters,—the protest at the close of the birds' Parliament of Love furnishes a case

<sup>22</sup> R 9.

<sup>23</sup> Bartsch, I. 30 a.

in point,—<sup>24</sup> and, above all, to reclaim for the glory of God the phrases of hymn or liturgy which were being debased in amorous parodies sung by birds.<sup>25</sup> However this may be, they prefer for their bird-choruses the form either of a sacred antiphonal service or of an *estриф* in which the love of God is magnified at the expense of earthly love. In the pseudo-Lydgatian *Devotions of the Fowls* <sup>26</sup> and in a sixteenth century poem in Skelton's vein, *The Armonye of Byrdes*,<sup>27</sup> the poet goes abroad in a scene of vernal "vyridite" and hears birds singing a responsive service in praise of the Deity; the song of each bird is composed in part of phrases taken from Latin hymns or from the Latin liturgy. *The Armonye* is the work of a sophisticated poet, as its introduction bears witness:

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Philomela*, by Peckham (?), in Bonaventura's works, ed. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1882-98, VIII. pp. 669-74; *Rossignol mes-sager*, Herrig's *Archiv*, CXI. p. 123; a sermon, MS. Harl. 2339, f. 72 b, on the theme, "how ech man and womman may lerne to loue and serue god ech in his degree. takynge ensauple bi þre foolis . . . þat clerkis callen foulis of loue. þe lارke. þe nyȝtyngale. and þe turtildowue is þe þridde." The *exempla* follow. The lark flies heavenward at dawn singing of her gratitude to God; the nightingale sings ever, with a thorn against his breast "to make him þat he slepe not"; the turtle dove, when she once chooses her mate, will never have another, "and whanne he is deed from hire; sche morneþ euer." With such devotion as these birds display "lordis and ladies schulden lerne also to loue god."

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Neilson, *Court of Love*, pp. 220 ff.

<sup>26</sup> R 4.

<sup>27</sup> R 27. The two poems are differentiated from *La Messe des Oisiaus* and the *Matins* (Neilson, *Court of Love*, pp. 225 ff., 216 ff.), by their simpler structure and by the complete absence of parody or of adherence to the regular order of divine service—the basis for Professor Neilson's doubt as to the genuine devoutness of the two poems (p. 227) not being clear. R 4 and 27 probably represent a common original; the five birds in the *Devotions* appear, with many others, in the *Armonye*; the pelican (in both) figures neither in *La Messe* nor in the *Matins*. Plainly R 27 does not derive directly from R 4, and neither derives directly from such poems as *La Messe*.

Whan Dame Flora  
 In die aurora  
     Had covered the meadow with flowers,  
 And all the fylde  
 Was over distylde  
     With lusty Aprell showers;  
 For my disporte  
 Me to conforte  
     Whan the day began to spring,  
 Foorth I went  
 With a good intent  
     To here the byrdes sing;

but its simpler phrasing and its tripping metre mark it as in closer touch with popular poetry than the pedantic *Devotions*:

As I me lenyd unto a joyful place  
 Lusty Phebus to supervide  
 . . . . .  
 . . . I herd a voyce celestialle,  
 Rejoysyng my spirites inwardly,  
 Of dyverse foules.

In Dunbar's *Merle and Nightingale*, beginning:

In May as that Aurora did vpspring  
 With cristall ene chasing the cluddis sable,  
 I hard a merle with mirry notis sing  
 A sang of lufe . . .<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> R 20. The burden of the merle's song is "A lusty lyfe in lues scheruice bene."—The poem is undoubtedly in the tradition of the *Owl and Nightingale*, *Thrush and Nightingale*, etc.—a tradition presumably Middle-Latin or French or Provençal in origin (cf. Wells, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, Boston, 1907, pp. liii ff.; Gadow, *Das Mittlengl. Streitgedicht Eule u. Nachtigall, Palaestra*, LXV. pp. 14 ff.); but its simple lyric form and the details of its prelude betray the influence of the *chanson d'aventure* tradition, with which Dunbar was familiar. In this connection, it may be noted that the elaborate "contention-

the nightingale prevails upon his antagonist to join him in his song, "All luve is lost bot vpone God allone." The simpler form of bird-song in praise of the Creator occurs only in the sixteenth century effort of a would-be caroller who tells of going forth to hear the birds conspiring with trees, flowers, beasts, and fishes, "to make hus mery," and ends his poor Spring-song with an appeal that we worship the Giver of all this gladness.<sup>29</sup> Clearly, all the poems of this group owe their structure in part to the tradition established by the corresponding group of secular *chansons d'aventure* in France; but though Dunbar's poem and the *Armonye* contain suggestions of secular ancestry, none bears any evidence of direct relationship to any secular song.

When the poet of a *chanson d'aventure* offers his devotion

poems" in the Latin, French, and Provençal, possessing a narrative introduction and sometimes presenting birds,—cf. *Melior et Idoine*, *Rom.* xv. pp. 332-34, *Geste de Blancheflour et Florence*, Langlois, *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose*, pp. 14-15,—have been influenced by the more popular lyrics of adventure, especially such as present birds singing each *on leur latin*, Bartsch, i. 30 a; cf. for instance the phrasing in *Melior et Idoine*, ll. 13-18:

Eu tens de may, ceux longe jours,  
 Chaudent oyseaus e creissent flours,  
 Par un matin m'en levoi,  
 Si mountoy mon palefroi  
 E aloi vers une cité  
 Qe Nincol est appelée.

<sup>29</sup> R 22. A popular vision-poem (*sæc.* xvi) beginning, "After mydnyght, when dremes dothe fawll" (Wright, *Songs and Ball.* Roxb. Club, p. 32, Halliwell, *Wit and Science*, Shak. Soc. p. 89, Collier, *Extracts from Stationers' Registers*, Shak. Soc. i. p. 186; transcribed in *MS. Addit.* 25478, *sæc.* xix), utters a similar appeal, making apparently deliberate use of the phraseology of the popular adventure-lyrics as a means of protest against those very lyrics (somewhat in the manner of Gautier de Coincy):

And se thou walk among thes flowres  
 Not for to pastime, jest, and play,  
 But reverently pressyng thy powres.



to Mary or to Christ, and implores mercy, he is approaching as near as he can to the *pastourelle*. In a few poems standing midway between the *chanson dramatique* and the *pastourelle* he is moved to the expression of his own feeling by an encounter with some object other than that of his adoration; a poet of the late fourteenth century hears at evensong "a Reson . . . written with wordes þre," which leads him to exposition of its meaning and to prayer; <sup>30</sup> Hoccleve in his *Balade translatee au commandement de mon Meistre Robert Chichele* <sup>31</sup> prays to Mary and to Christ after seeing "a crois depeynted with a fair ymage"; Lydgate owes his inspiration for his "balladys" on the "gladnessys" and "hevynessys" of the Virgin <sup>32</sup> to his chance unclousing of a volume bearing "an ymage ful notable" of Mary, "lyke a pyte." Obviously these poems are the result of "dilligent and cleer inspeccioun" more than of emotion; in their tendency to explain the encountered symbol or inscription they stand very close to the purely didactic *chanson d'aventure*.

The *pastourelles* inspired by a meeting with Mary or Christ, or by the thought of one or the other of them, are more truly lyric. In only one of these religious *pastourelles*—a fifteenth century minstrel-song—<sup>33</sup> does the poet venture actually to woo Mary as his "leman," and then only when he has disguised her as a bright bird:

By one foreste as I cone ryde  
I saw a byrd by a woode syde,  
Bryȝte sche was of ble.

<sup>30</sup> R 21.

<sup>31</sup> R 12. The identical "balade" translated by Hoccleve I am able to point out in a French fragment, *sæc.* xiv. ed. P. Meyer, *Rom.* VIII. pp. 335 f. The twenty-one lines printed by M. Meyer prove that Hoccleve is translating almost word for word, without amplifying or abridging, and preserving the rhyme scheme, even the actual rhyme words, when possible.

<sup>32</sup> R 14.

<sup>33</sup> R 15.

Rejoiced at her beauty, he listens to her sighing song, and abides "to witt of whene sche wore"; but like the shepherdess, she is afraid:

And as sone as sche se me  
Sche toke her flyȝte.

He follows, and taking her "by the wengus" he questions her gently, whereupon he is rebuked in words unmistakably patterned directly or indirectly on those of the resisting heroine of some *pastourelle*:

I hasked the byrd of her wylle;  
.  
.  
.  
.  
.  
.  
The byrd answerd and sayd,—Do way!  
Me lykes noȝte of thy play,  
Ne talkyng of thy talys:  
I am known undere thys tre,  
So as I come, let me fle.

The bird begins to lament the loss of her former cage, but the poet is as ready with promises as ever was the *trouvère*:

Nay dere byrd, let be thy care,  
And thou woldus gladly with me fare  
And leve one my talkyng;  
.  
.  
.  
.  
.  
.  
Thy cage shal be made anewe.

"What should my cage be, should I love you?" queries the bird, open to persuasion, like the *bergerette*. The poet begins to describe it, its floor of "argentum, clene sylver," and its posts of cypress, chosen by Jesus "off bale to be owre bote." This cage is made for the love of Mary, he explains, and then adds a somewhat confusing identification of the bird with the Trinity:

The mane that better cage make canne  
 Take thys byrd to his lemane  
 That is the Trinite.

The author is undoubtedly writing with full knowledge of the amorous *pastourelle*, French or English; his strange poem takes its place beside the Tudor *pastourelle* in which the poet vainly pursues a woodland creature, half maid and half mavis.<sup>34</sup>

No other clerks have the temerity to address their fervent praise or entreaty to the holy object of their worship; <sup>35</sup> they depend on the thought of Mary, or of "Crist sa fre" or of their own "folie" for a means of introduction to their songs. The three admirable lyrics of this class in Harleian ms. 2253 undoubtedly owe their form and structure to French convention, but none of them betrays French influence in substance. Indeed, these poets come "from petresbourh" and know the country "from catenas in to dyuelyn"; <sup>36</sup> and they manifest a distinctively English tendency to choose dark autumnal settings and to think "wiþ dreri herte" of death and sin and suffering:

<sup>34</sup> A 14. In the much lovelier French lyrics in which bird and maiden natures are fused, the fusion is not made for the purpose either of disguise or of allegory (Bartsch, I. 29, 28; the latter not an adventure-song).

<sup>35</sup> In the Elizabethan period Barnabe Barnes with a happy simulation of naïveté feigns an actual encounter (Arber, *An English Garner*, v. p. 446):

Upon a holy Saintes Eve  
 As I took my pilgrimage  
 Wand'ring through the forest wary,  
 Blest be that holy Saint!  
 I met the lovely Virgin, Mary!

But the poem is not precisely a case in point, for the Mary addressed as "my Saint chaste and mild" clearly betokens the poet's own *dame sans merci*; it is not a religious adaptation so much as a reversion from religious adaptation to the original amorous type.

<sup>36</sup> R 17.

wel ichot, ant soþ hit ys,  
 þat in þis world nys no blys,  
 bote care, serewe, & pyne.<sup>37</sup>

None of the three poems, moreover, bears sign of adaptation from love-song; the praise of Mary in terms proper to amorous addresses, such as marks the song on the Five Joys, is a recognized convention of Mary-poems:

wiþ al mi lif y loue þat may,  
 he is mi solas nyht & day,  
 my ioie, & eke my beste play,  
 ant eke my louelongynge.<sup>38</sup>

With the two sixteenth century "godly ballatis" the case is different; for one is the spiritualization of the "undeveloped" *pastourelle*, "Into a mirthfull May morning" (known to us only in an English text later than this Scotch "parody"), and the other is presumably a similar adaptation, since its opening line occurs in two Scottish adventure-songs of the period, one amorous and one moral.<sup>39</sup>

### C. DIDACTIC

The moral *chansons d'aventure* form a conspicuous group of fourteenth century poems preserved in the Vernon ms.; in the fifteenth century they almost equal in number all the other adventure-songs, secular or religious, and they fill a

<sup>37</sup> R 25.

<sup>38</sup> R 13.

<sup>39</sup> The two religious songs are R 23, which preserves not only the opening lines, but the rhyme-words, of the first strophe of A 28, the amorous original; and R 16, with l. 1 of which ("Downe be þone Riuer I ran") cf. D 2 b, l. 1 and A 35, ll. 3-4, ("Be that rever ran I doun rycht | Vndir the ryss I red"). Mitchell, *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, p. 270, comments on the parallel between R 23 and A 28, and conjectures, p. 281, that R 16 is the adaptation of some secular ballad.



modest place in the song and carol collections of the early sixteenth. Outwardly they are of the established order. They possess the regular preface, though it is patently an adventitious element or a meaningless survival. They incorporate monologues attributed to various figures: never to women (though a maid's lament serves in one case as a brief preliminary to a bird's disquisition),<sup>1</sup> but to men (a "mane" or "wiht," "ane aigit man," a typical personage, a "schepperde" who betrays not a single pastoral quality, "frere Henri"),<sup>2</sup> to a "voyse ryght mervelus obscure,"<sup>3</sup> to birds (nightingale, turtle, lark, "Synderisis"),<sup>4</sup> and to "lettres" written on a wall, ring, ribbon or robe, hood, briar-leaf, or book.<sup>5</sup> They embody informal dialogues between a "maye" and a "turtile," a "kynd cheild" and "the nichtingall," or the poet and a bird,<sup>6</sup> and formal debates between two men ("þe synner" and "Merci", Meed and Thank, or "Aige" and "3owth");<sup>7</sup> they set forth a "spekyng" of a company of clerks, apparently of an admirable unanimity, and a "Resoun" which the poet propounds in soliloquy.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D 23. In D 3 a dream-lady figures momentarily as the bearer of the graven ring.

<sup>2</sup> *Man*, etc., D 7, 8, 9 c, 19, 32; *old man*, 1, 10, 27; *Mercy*, etc., 12, 26, 31; *shepherd*, 5; *friar*, 11 (cf. 22, 25; cf. also an incomplete song which presumably once possessed the preface characteristic of the *chanson d'aventure*, Herrig's *Archiv*, LXXXVI. p. 387: "How judicare come in crede"; see last two lines).

<sup>3</sup> D 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Nightingale*, D 18 (cf. 30); *turtle*, 23, 30; *lark*, 28; "Synderisis," 36 (cf. "Dame Conscience," 17); birds of undefined species, 2, 4, 9, 14, 15, 16, 35. Cf. the fieldfare that sings at the poet's study window in Lydgate's poem, closely allied to the *chansons d'aventure*, which begins, "Toward the ende of frosty January." (Halliwell, *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, p. 156; cf. Lydgate, ed. MacCracken, p. xx, no. 69.) Cf. also the bird with a "devys" in a song which apparently once possessed a narrative preface. (Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Club, p. 1.)

<sup>5</sup> *Wall*, D 6, 13, 33; *ring*, 3; *ribbon*, 20; *hood*, 21; *briar*, 24; *book*, 29; cf. 31 (words written on the breast of a speaker).

<sup>6</sup> D 23, 18, 36.

<sup>7</sup> D 12, 26, 31.

<sup>8</sup> D 25, 34.

There is, however, no inevitable relation between form and theme; a given theme does not carry with it as a matter of course, a given form. The themes, moreover, bear little likeness to those already discussed. Not only the maiden's song of joy or sorrow has disappeared, but every analogous expression of genuine personal feeling. Every song of the series embodies either a conventional lament of penitence or regret for vanished joys, or an instructive or admonitory discourse.<sup>9</sup> Poems of the latter type are quite impersonal, being addressed only nominally to the listening poet, and in reality to sinful man:

Mon on Molde, þou make þe ȝare  
A-ȝeyn þi deþ on domes-day.<sup>10</sup>

Though the learned turtle adapts his opening remarks to the special case of the mourning maid, he addresses the thirty or more strophes that follow to mankind in general.<sup>11</sup> The moral maxims or sermons inscribed on wayside walls are necessarily for the benefit of all passers by. The laments give opportunity for the expression of somewhat greater individuality; the sinners allude to experience that purports to be personal, and they occasionally limit their ground for remorse to some single and definite type of misdoing,—the squandering of youth in Venus's service, or of a patrimony

<sup>9</sup> Instructive and admonitory poems are on such themes as the power of divine love, seen in Biblical history (23) or in the example of Christ, the pelican, Dido, etc. (30), variability (3, 4, 10, 34), fidelity in friendship (5, 28, 35), untrustworthiness (37), the brevity of youth (31), the motives and rewards of service (21, 26), the relative potency of Mercy and Right (12, 15), the certain approach of Judgment (29), Make Amends (14; cf. 11, 24, 36), Thank God (13, 22), Do For Thyself (2), Ever Say Well or Hold Thee Still (6, 33), For the Better Abide (20), Measure Thee (17, 25). Poems of penitence or regret relate to old age (1, 27, 32), loss of gold and favour (18, 19), repentance for sins, with fear of death and desire for mercy (7, 8, 9, 16).

<sup>10</sup> D 11.

<sup>11</sup> D 23.

in dining and drinking.<sup>12</sup> But as a rule the personal allusion is merely a fleeting preliminary to the enunciation of a moral truth, as when a bird complains,

. . . . I not how longe  
My fere & I togeder shall be  
.  
.  
.  
For welfare hath no sykernes.<sup>13</sup>

or an "oolde man" remarks,

Now age is copen on me ful stille  
And makip me oold & blac of ble,  
And y go downeward wip þe hille;  
þis World is but a vanite.<sup>14</sup>

It is almost always purely conventional, as the reader suspects when he hears a man sigh:

I have be lorde of towr and towne,  
I sett not be my grett renowne;  
For deth wyll pluckyd all downe;  
The dred off deth do trobyll me.<sup>15</sup>

It is assuredly so in the case of the sad wight who admits that he has misspent his five wits, constantly broken all the Commandments, and committed all the seven sins,<sup>16</sup> and likewise in the case of the bird who ascribes his fall to his "forhede large" and "browes bent" and to the beguilement of his mirror, and who avows further:

ffull many a man I dyd vnreste.  
They that wold nat myne heste fulfyll  
My knyfe was redy to hys breste.  
.  
.  
.  
When I was most in all my flowres

<sup>12</sup> D 1, 19.

<sup>14</sup> D 10.

<sup>16</sup> D 8; cf. 7.

<sup>13</sup> D 4.

<sup>15</sup> D 9 c.

And had aboute me wyfe and chylde,  
I lost my catell and my toures.

. . . . .  
ffortune hath pulled ryches fro me.  
Your wreche, lorde, I cannat blame.  
*Parce michi, domine!*<sup>17</sup>

Such poems presumably owe nothing directly to French influence, and they owe very little beyond their general outline to their English analogues of secular content. A few, however, are reminiscent of amorous origin. The bird who warbles the unexpected song "Asay thy frend or thou hast ned" is not unlike the mavis who "stode yn fere" and then "flo her way":<sup>18</sup>

Of me I trow she was agast,  
She tok hyr flyȝth in lenȝth and bred;

and the poet's action is more suggestive of the poet-lover's than is that of the ordinary adapter:<sup>19</sup>

Under a forest that was so long  
As I me rod with mekyll dred,  
I hard a berd syngyng a song;  
. . . . .  
I ther stod and hoved styll,  
To a tre I teyd my sted;  
. . . . .  
Me thouȝt it was a wonder noyse,  
Alwey ner and ner I ȝed.

One can believe that this fifteenth century caroller has in mind, definitely or indefinitely, some English song telling

<sup>17</sup> D 16.

<sup>18</sup> D 35; cf. A 14.

<sup>19</sup> Usually the didactic poet pauses, takes good heed, draws near, stands in wonderment or study, before he asks the question that frees the tongue of his interlocutor, or before he himself begins to sermonize; cf. D 2 b, 4, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 24, 29, 30, 35, 36.



of a woodland wooing. Again, the sixteenth century dialogue of a Scottish "nightingall" and a sorry "cheild"<sup>20</sup> apparently represents the imperfect reconciliation of an amorous and a moral theme. The dejected man seems to be convinced that all worldly joy depends on riches, a theory that calls forth pained protest from the bonny bird:

Is thi God ather deid or seik  
Nor he ma mend the of thy cair?  
Quhat wantis thow lythis or landis braid  
Or gold or geir to the ending day?

But when the "cheild" suggests that his particular grievance is caused by a gay lady who has forsaken him "for falt of gold," the nightingale eagerly resumes his time-honoured office of lovers'-counsellor, and advises good cheer:

Giff that thow luiffit that ladie  
Bot ane sa sorrofull and sa trew  
Peraduentour hir knycht ma die;  
Scho will marie the and the low.

Obviously the writer gives his narrative this unforeseen turn in the knowledge of the tradition founded by *rosignol* and *trouvère*; but, refusing to confess to any change of front, he irrelevantly concludes—

Off this ballet ye will [leir]  
Bot God will be God quhen gold is gane.

A much earlier and worthier northern poet composes the preliminary portion of a discourse on *The iiii Leues of the True Love*<sup>21</sup> under the influence of a loveless maid's lament.

<sup>20</sup> D 18.

<sup>21</sup> D 23. On the true-love flower cf. Rickert, *Emare*, E. E. T. S. Extra Series XCIX. l. 125 and note; Skeat, *Chauc. Pieces, Court of Love*, l. 1440 and note, p. 553; also *Twenty-Six Poems*, p. 78, l. 185, and *Anglia*, XXXI. p. 381.

Abroad on his playing, in May-time, he meets with an adventure:

Was I warre of a maye þat made mournyng  
 . . . . .  
 Hir wepynghe dide me woughe:  
 Undir a tree I me droughe:  
 Hir wille walde I wete.

When a turtle on a tree, equally curious, asks, "Whi syghys you so sare?" the girl readily divulges her secret:

A trewe-lufe hafe I soughte be waye *and* be strete:  
 In many faire orcherdis þer floures er [ine]:  
 Als ferre als I hafe soughte fande I nane þete.

This confession furnishes the bird with a text for a tedious sermon on the sacred "trew-lufe grysse," rehearsing its history from the Creation till the Assumption, and looking forward to its influence at the Day of Doom; at the tardy close the patient maiden is recalled to our minds:

Thus this trewe turtylle techis this may:  
 Scho blyssede his body his bone *and* his blode;  
 Vnto þat ilke ferthe lefe I rede þat we praye:  
 . . . . .  
 This herde I in a lay  
 Als I wente one my way  
 In a mornynghe of may  
 Whene medowes salle sprynghe.

But the existence of such a bond between the moral *chanson d'aventure* and its amorous past is exceptional. Usually the poet is wholly preoccupied with a lesson that he would teach, and turns to it at the earliest possible moment:

Throwe a towne as y com ryde,  
 Y sawe wretyn on a wall

A leffe of letterys long and wyde:  
 'Hyre, and se, and sey not all!'  
 And yff thow wolte thys lesson lere  
 And covetyste to dwell yn compeny,  
 What thow seyyste farre or nere,  
 Looke it towche to no velany.<sup>22</sup>

His cry is far indeed from the lyric cry.

#### D. MISCELLANEOUS

To him who loves a ballad, as well as to him who relishes a sermon, the Middle English *chanson d'aventure* has much to offer. It is true that the adventure-lyrics of political, satiric, or occasional nature occupy the position of least importance by virtue of their late appearance and their comparative infrequency;<sup>1</sup> but they outrank their didactic analogues in fidelity to the traditions of their class. The poets of these miscellaneous adventure-songs attribute the monologues or dialogues<sup>2</sup> to very life-like spokesmen; they have nothing to do with the stilted inscriptions and pale abstractions that their more pious brothers preferred, and they readmit lamenting or rejoicing women to a prominence quite denied them by "frere Henri" and his like.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, their manner is convincing; they record events that impress one as actual, or feelings that bear the stamp of

<sup>22</sup> D 33.

<sup>1</sup> Only about one-sixth of the pre-Elizabethan *chansons d'aventure* fall into this class; of these but one (2 a) dates before 1400, and less than half, including the traditional ballads, belong to the fifteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> All the poems of M are in the form of *chansons dramatiques*; there are two author's soliloquies (M 1, 7), but no proffer of devotion to correspond to the *pastourelle*. (A 32, a poet's soliloquy, is possibly to be considered as a political poem; cf. A 32 in Appendix B.)

<sup>3</sup> M 11, 14, 17, 20, 22; cf. 16, 23, women in disguise of falcon, turtle, etc.

genuineness, and are inspired by some particular situation or occasion. The poet himself bewails his faithless friends in no merely conventional fashion:

als I me sat my self allon  
 in my hart makand my mon,  
 I said, 'allas, my gammys ar gon!  
     qwat sal I do?  
     that I most trayste  
     it is all waste!  
     sor may me rew!' <sup>4</sup>

or reports a goodly lady's very human "adewe and ffarewelle" to royal favour:

I am exilid  
 . . . . .  
 Yet all the faut wasse not in me. <sup>5</sup>

The poet does not eliminate the personal element from his narrative even when—as is usually the case—he has some ulterior motive for relating his adventure, such as the suggestion of a salutary lesson, the praise or blame or defense of some noble contemporary, the reform of social or political evils, or the instruction or diversion of the reader. The poet puts his praises or protests into the mouth of the person or persons most vitally concerned. Eleanor of Gloucester tells simply of her bare-foot walk of penance through London town, <sup>6</sup> with little insistence except in the recurring burden of her song on the theme that all women may of her "insampull take"; the hunted hare arouses pity solely by setting forth, graphically enough, his own side of the case. <sup>7</sup> Elizabeth of York, who is undoubtedly represented by the

<sup>4</sup> M 1.

<sup>5</sup> M 11. (A similarly realistic expression of feeling marks the *Twa Corbies*, M 9.)

<sup>6</sup> M 22.

<sup>7</sup> M 12.



"comely quene" of the White Rose Carol, sings of her joy in England's "lyly whijt rose";<sup>8</sup> the divorced Catharine and the usurping Anne voice their own defense, though in the easily penetrated guise of lioness and falcon.<sup>9</sup> "Threedbare Conscience" tells his own tale of rebuffs in court and mart and chapel;<sup>10</sup> ploughman and shepherd and John Nobody express, as plainly as they dare, their discontent with abuses that touch them personally,—the heavy rents that force from countrymen the cry, "Thus be we shepe shorne," or shortcomings of the pastors who do not "kepe well the shepe of Crystis fold."<sup>11</sup> Even when a speaker occupies himself with satire of a more general nature, as against womankind, he desires some connection with the case; a man feigns an eagerness to reply to woman's traducers (with whom as a matter of fact he warmly concurs),<sup>12</sup> and the Misogynic Nightingale is moved to berate the much abused sex by his observation of a clerk, love-sick "for on þat is so schene."<sup>13</sup> Likewise a "voce on hicht" makes of itself the exemplar of its theme:

Be I bot littill of stature  
 Thay call me catyve createure;  
 And be I grit of quantetie  
 Thay call me monstrowis of nature;  
 Thus can I not vndemit be.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> M 17. With equal spontaneity, if not so much appropriateness, the nightingale carols of England's "nobull kyng" (13). The praise of the king's loyal supporters, however, is entrusted to characters not personally concerned,—to a woman of Cheapside, who embroiders their initials into a vestment, and to the poet who acts as expositor (14); the lament over the dead Edward IV. is uttered by "ladyes that were clothed in blake" (20).

<sup>9</sup> M 16, 23.

<sup>10</sup> M 8.

<sup>11</sup> M 5, 4, 19. In 7, Crowley's *Of Abbayes*, the poet feigns, at least, a personal interest in the matter of the suppression of abbeyes.

<sup>12</sup> M 24.

<sup>13</sup> M 18.

<sup>14</sup> M 21.

When the poet would instruct his hearers concerning the varied usefulness of a buck's body, he presents the desired information in the form of a testament made by Will Buck himself:

I bequeth my bodye vnto the colde seller,  
 And the fair lady to take þe sey of me,  
 I bequethe my skynne vnto þe bowberer,  
 to rewarde *your* houndes my throtte also, *perdee*; <sup>15</sup>

when he would enliven them, he tells a strange or merry story in which he plays a more or less prominent part.<sup>16</sup> Altogether, in spite of his late day, he has done much to bring the *chanson d'aventure* again into its own.

For guidance he has looked to adventure-songs of his own land, rather than to those of France. Occasionally he can be detected in the act of adapting love-poetry to his own ends, as when he turns the well-known "By a bancke as I lay" to the praise of England's "nobull kyng,"<sup>17</sup> or when he builds up a satiric debate for which some dialogue between disconsolate lover and consoling bird has probably furnished the groundwork.<sup>18</sup> In its manner the White Rose song is suggestive of the carols, both amorous and religious, that belong particularly to fifteenth century England.<sup>19</sup> More often the poet seems to be composing independently in the tradition of the *chanson d'aventure*; <sup>20</sup> and sometimes he

<sup>15</sup> M 6.

<sup>16</sup> M 2, 3, 10. In 15, however, he chooses a figurehead, a clerk, to tell a tale in which he himself is not actively concerned.

<sup>17</sup> A 7, M 13.

<sup>18</sup> M 18.

<sup>19</sup> M 17. Cf. also the burden, belonging to amorous song, "This day day dawes."

<sup>20</sup> M 23 is plainly the work of some sympathizer with the divorced Catharine, who is familiar with the *chanson d'aventure* formula, and elaborates it to suit his own ends. M 16, making use of the same general form, the same symbolism in part, and the same refrain line

chooses to grace his ballad or hunting song with a line that takes us back to the days of the early forest-wooders:

As I came by a grene forest syde,  
I met with a forster yat badde me abyde.<sup>21</sup>

From this review of the themes, as from the review of the conventional form in the preceding chapter, we may conclude that the authors of the Middle English *chansons d'aventure* have made the tradition established by the Old French *trouvères* quite their own. Even the earliest of the poets—who are acquainted directly with the French convention, though no one of them is known to have translated or imitated any particular French text—manifest independence in their treatment of the themes. With them, the amorous episodes are distinguished by calm restraint and gravity; one lover contents himself with watching the sunlit hair of the beloved maiden, and another quietly accepts the decision of the woman who will not “synke in to synne.” Moreover, as a substitute for love-making, these fourteenth century poets offer devout and penitential prayer or heavy moralizing. The later poets-errant deviate further from a precedent already remote from them by several centuries, and doubtless known to most of them only indirectly. They devote themselves almost exclusively in the fifteenth century to *chansons d'aventure* of the soul and of the conscience, and they draw their material from sources as alien to the original French adventure-songs as Mary-laments, dull moral

(with necessary variation), is obviously written in answer to M 23 by some sympathizer with Anne after her death. (The relation between the two poems has not been noted by the editors.)

<sup>21</sup> M 3. Cf. a confused Elizabethan song prefaced by a few lines in the manner of the *chansons d'aventure*, ed. Fehr, *Herrig's Archiv*, CVII. p. 59 (cf. *ibid.*, CXIX. p. 428, no. 106 a).

treatises, and sacred lullaby-carols. Sixteenth century poets, it is true, revert to amorous themes, which they treat in lighter mood than do their earliest English predecessors; but their vivacity is always that of tavern-balladist, keen satirist of Dunbar's type, or Tudor court musician,—never the vivacity of the *trouvère*. Their songs, however sprightly, want the finish, just as the earlier English lyrics, for all their admirable stability, lack the grace of the French adventure-song.



## CONCLUSION

The discussion in the foregoing chapters has been based upon an examination of all the known *chansons d'aventure* composed in England and Scotland between 1300 or earlier and 1550. In concluding it may be well to sum up briefly the more important results disclosed by this survey of the English adventure-song as a type and particularly those gained by comparing this English type with the French *chansons* in which it had its origin.

In the first place, the reappearance of the essential formal features of the French lyrics, even as late as the sixteenth century, and even among moral and religious and political songs, establishes the fact that the Middle English poets followed consistently in the way marked out by the *trouvères*. But the variance in tone between the English and French poems is sufficient to indicate considerable independence of spirit among the earliest poets, and a lack of any immediate knowledge, among the later poets, of the French songs the formulas of which they were constantly repeating. The freshness of the earliest lyrics, which are free from conventional praises of returning Spring and yet suggestive of sun-flecked forest-ways, their objectivity, and their serious, even sober, mood, come as a relief after the artificiality and self-consciousness of the adventure-songs of the *trouvère*. The devoutness of the lover who exclaims,

he myhte sayen þat crist hym seþe  
þat myhte nyhtes neh hyre leþe  
heuene he heuede here,<sup>1</sup>

distinguishes him from the French *chevaliers*, as the thoughtfulness and spirituality of the writers of religious adventure-

<sup>1</sup> A 30.

songs differentiate them from Gautier de Coincy; furthermore, the comparative frequency of the religious lyrics among the earliest English *chansons d'aventure* stands in significant contrast to the scantiness of similar French songs. These variations in content are evident at a period when the French influence on the form was still direct and active. The case is different with the fifteenth and sixteenth century poems; the dull lessons in dogma, morality, or prudence, the winsome religious carols, the crude but virile secular songs, and the tripping Tudor ditties are all alike examples of a thoroughly Anglicized mode,<sup>2</sup>—a mode which its own followers doubtless scarcely recognized as a legacy from over-sea.

A second point that has received emphasis is the utter conventionality of the narrative preface, in which the author introduces himself as adventurer. This is a point which has long been recognized, but upon which it is well to insist, inasmuch as it may serve as a restraining influence on certain types of criticism. It should discourage any tendency to base arguments of common authorship on the appearance of the narrative introduction and the adventure element in two or more poems; <sup>3</sup> it should also dissuade us from emphasizing "das persönliche Erlebnis" and "das individuelle Moment" in lyrics such as those of Harleian MS. 2253,<sup>4</sup> except

<sup>2</sup> A 26 and R 12, fifteenth century translations from the French, are exceptions. If the lyrics in Tudor song-books stand somewhat nearer in tone to the Old French prototypes than do the contemporary songs, or the earliest English lyrics of the same type, it is because the Tudor composers, among whom "'derne love' has given place to the light love of a frivolous court" (Chambers, *Med. Lyric*, p. 282), possess a certain kinship with the courtly, care-free *trouvère*, and not because they are consciously harking back to a foreign precedent already in their time several centuries old.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Ch. II, note 87, end.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. Müller, *Mittelengl. Geistl. u. Weltl. Lyrik des XIII Jahrh.* (Morsbach's *Studien*, XLIV. 1911), pp. 129, 155, etc., where much emphasis is given to these points with hardly sufficient emphasis on their stereotyped nature.

as purely stereotyped elements. What is of more vital importance, it should render us wary of accepting as actually autobiographical introductory narratives that relate what are ostensibly definite personal experiences. The tendency toward such criticism appears much less frequently in connection with the short songs than in connection with the more elaborate poems—romances or visions—which have presumably been influenced in introduction and general structure by the adventure element of the lyrics; the influence is undeniable in some cases, as, for example, in *Thomas of Erceldoune*:

Als j me wente pis Endres daye  
ffull faste in mynd makand my mone,  
In a mery mornynge of Maye,  
By huntle bankkes my selfe allone,  
I herde þe jaye, & þe throstyll cokke,  
The Mawys menyde hyr of hir songe;

. . . . .  
Allonne in longynge thus als j laye  
Vndyre-nethe a semely tree  
[Saghe] j whare a lady gaye  
[Came ridand] ouer a longe lee.<sup>5</sup>

In this instance, as also in that of *Piers Plowman*,<sup>6</sup> we should be restrained by a knowledge of the adventure-lyrics

<sup>5</sup> *Thomas of Erceldoune*, ed. Murray, E. E. T. S. Orig. Series 61, ll. 25-36, Thornton text. Miss Burnham ("A Study of Thomas of Erceldoune," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xxiii. pp. 383 ff.) comments on the conventionality of the opening lines. It is impossible, in view of the tradition of the adventure-songs, to subscribe fully to her statement that the "'season-motif' . . . in connection with the *walk* and the use of the *first person* . . . seems to belong distinctly to visions"; she herself notes the *Armonye of Byrdes* as an exception.

<sup>6</sup> A. S. Jack ("Autobiographical Elements in *Piers the Plowman*," *Journ. Germ. Philol.* iii. pp. 404 ff.) points out that the author uses both wanderings and dreams as a conventional literary device, not to be taken literally.

from attaching too much biographical significance to the opening lines. Above all, in the case of the *Pearl*, we should be led to agree with Professor Schofield <sup>7</sup> in his refusal to regard the author's dream as an "actual dream which comforted him in his grief." <sup>8</sup>

To þat spot þat I in speche expoun  
 I entred, in þat erber grene,  
 In Augoste in a hyȝ seysoun,  
 Quen corne is coruen wyth crokeȝ kene.

Fro spot my spyryt þer sprang in space,  
 My body on balke þer bod in sweuen.

The conventionality of these lines impresses itself with new force upon the reader who recalls not only "the very numerous dream-poems, vision-poems, debates, and allegories of divers sorts current in the fourteenth century," to which Professor Schofield calls attention, but also the earlier *chansons d'aventure*, in which a poet relates that he rode or walked the ways in Maytime (sometimes even in August), listened in green arbours or woods to the song of a maiden or of a bird, and perchance indulged in slumber—so lightly did his duties press—before the appearance of the heroine of his adventure. A knowledge of the convention of the adventure-lyric enables us, in other words, to recognize the wandering of Thomas by Huntley Banks, the wandering and dreaming of the men who wrote *Piers Plowman* and the *Pearl* and other poems of the same type, as wholly orthodox, almost obligatory, performances, to which it is highly unsafe to attach any special significance.

<sup>7</sup> "Symbolism, Allegory, and Autobiography in *The Pearl*," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XXIV. pp. 647 ff.

<sup>8</sup> This interpretation is suggested by Professor Osgood in his edition of *The Pearl* (Belles-Lettres Series, Boston and London, 1906, p. xvii).—The lines of the poem here quoted are from the same edition, ll. 37-40, 61-62.



With the later cultivation of the *chanson d'aventure* the present study is not concerned. Examples composed in the Elizabethan and in subsequent periods reproduce the established types, altering them often enough in spirit, but never in essentials of theme or structure. The gentle Elizabethans repeat the old *pastourelles* and *chansons dramatiques*, transforming them into charming pastoral lyrics in the neo-classic manner: Barnabe Barnes, as we have seen, reclaims for the love-poets the spiritualized *pastourelle*, when he pleads with his own Saint Mary and offers her the firstling of his flock; Breton, quite in the old manner, celebrates the theme of "lovers' meeting":

In the merry moneth of May  
In a morne by breake of day,  
Foorth I walkèd by the Wood side  
Whenas May was in his pride:  
There I spièd all alone,  
Phillida and Coridon.<sup>9</sup>

*Chansons d'aventure* are legion among the degraded love-songs of broadside ballad days,—for street-minstrels seem, not unlike the *trouvères*, to have been overfond of eaves-dropping,—and are still conspicuous among later songs in ephemeral "Garlands" or more considerable song-collections.

Though the themes are prevailingly amorous, they are not always so. "All after pleasures as I rid one day," as the poet Herbert tells, he stopped, wearied out, at an inn, and there found his "dearest Lord."<sup>10</sup> Less inspired poets stimulate interest, by means of the popular preface, in their paltry matter,—the lame confession of a wight "dampned by god's iust iudgment" or of one John Musgrave, who paid the extreme penalty at Kendal for robbing the King's Receiver:

<sup>9</sup> Nicholas Breton, *Works in Verse and Prose*, ed. Grosart, Chertsey Worthies' Library, I. (*Daffodils and Primroses*, p. 7).

<sup>10</sup> George Herbert, *English Works*, ed. G. H. Palmer, II. p. 167.

Downe Plumton Parke as I did passe  
 I hard a Bird sing in a glend:  
 The cheefest of her song it was—  
 ‘Farewell, the flower of serving men.’<sup>11</sup>

Examples might be multiplied, but only to illustrate the vast popularity, and not any new development, of the type. It is of interest, however, to note that modern lovers of old song are not wearied of repeating the convention. They still tell, in time-honoured phrases, of spring-time adventures:

As I went up a woodland walk  
 In Taunton Dene,  
 When May was green—  
 I heard a bird so blithely talk  
 The twinkling sprays between,  
 That I stood still  
 With right good will,  
 To learn what he might mean.<sup>12</sup>

The songster is of the English greenwood, and he sings an English strain, stilling the poet’s grief with a message of hope; yet one listening to his song recalls the *chanson d’aventure* of the early *trouvère*:

c’est en mai au mois d’este  
 que florist flor  
 . . . . .  
 li rosignox m’i semont  
 que j’aime loiaument,<sup>13</sup>

and, recalling it, avers, “The note, I trowe, y-maked was in Fraunce.”

<sup>11</sup> *The Shirburn Ballads*, ed. A. Clark, Oxford, 1907, pp. 260, 20.

<sup>12</sup> *The Blackbird: A Spring Song*, Alfred Perceval Graves, *The Spectator*, LXIV. p. 727.

<sup>13</sup> Bartsch, I. 52.

## APPENDIX A

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### TEXTS HITHERTO UNPRINTED

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[Punctuation, uniform capitalization of line initials, and strophe-division in certain texts, are the editor's. Capitalization of letters within the line has been consistently disregarded. In some texts, especially those from MS. Rawl. C. 86, flourishes and other signs, chiefly over final *n*, have been disregarded when they appear to be without consistent abbreviatory significance. Further deviations from MS. readings are indicated in the footnotes.]

#### I (A 17)

MS. ASHMOLE 176, f. 100 b.

This nyghtes rest, this nyghtes rest,  
Adewe, farewell, this nightes rest!

In a garden vnderneath a tree,  
To gether þe<sup>1</sup> floures þat grewe therby,  
Walking alone, I dyd espye

5       A man in paynes that was prest,  
And sorowfully thus could he crye,  
      "Adewe, farewell, this nyghtes rest!"

I marvayled what this man dyd meane;  
His teares ran downe all from his eyen,<sup>2</sup>  
That he had lost his colour cleane.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *y<sup>i</sup>*; *y* stands for *þ* throughout the poem in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *eyes*.

10           A carefull crye then vp he cast,  
“That I might see that I haue seene!  
    Adewe, farewell, this nyghtes rest!”

          I asked hym questyon, why þat he  
Lay there all pytyouslye.  
15       He said, “Goe hence *and* let me lye!  
    My dolour cannot be redrest,  
For above all other yet cause haue I  
To sey, ‘Farewell, this nyghtes rest!’

          “För gone away ys all my gladnes  
20       *And* come nowe ys my heavynes;  
Thus I am lefte alone helpelesse  
    And must forbear e þat I love best.  
With no man can I trowe redresse;  
    Wherfore adewe, this nyghtes rest!

25       “And yet farewell, þat creature  
    þat hathe my hart wofull in cure,  
For whom I must so endure!  
    Yet her to please I would be prest;  
She hathe reclaymed me to her lure  
30       To say, ‘Farewell, this nyghtes rest!’

          “Thus am I left alone  
    *And* governour here haue I none,  
Nor wot to whom to make my mone,  
    For there ys none þat I dare trust.  
35       I can no more but ever one:  
    Adewe, farewell, this nyghtes rest!”

*finis*



## II (R 2)

MS. PORKINGTON 10, f. 198.<sup>1</sup>

Mery hyt ys in may mornyng  
Mery wayys ffor to gōne.

And by a chapell as y came <sup>2</sup>  
Mett y wyhte Ihesu to chyrcheward gone,  
Petur and Pawle, thomas *and* Ihoñ  
And hys desyplys euery-chone.

mery hyt ys.

5        Sente Thomas þe bellys gane ryng,        [f. 198 b]  
       And sent Collas <sup>3</sup> þe mas gane syng,  
       Sente Ihoñ toke þat swete offeryng;  
       And by a chapell as y came.

mery hyt ys.

10            Owre lorde offeryd whate he wolde,  
A challes alle off ryche rede golde;  
Owre lady þe crowne off hyr mowlde.  
The soñ owte off hyr bosom schone.

mery hyt ys.

15                    Sent Iorge þat ys owre lady bryȝte,  
He tende þe tapyrys fayre *and* bryte,  
To myn yȝe <sup>4</sup> a semley syȝte.  
And by a chapell as y came!

Mery hyt ys.

<sup>2</sup> This poem, according to Mr. Madan, Bodley's Librarian, was copied at the same time as the rest of the ms., as is indicated by the make-up of the gathering of eight leaves in which it stands; but probably by a younger man, as the hand has the marks of a somewhat later type. This carol and the following are not in the same hand as the two preceding articles, and Sir F. Madden would indicate (*Syr Gawayne*, Bann. Club, p. lxi).

<sup>2</sup> This line would better follow l. 4.

<sup>2</sup> St. Nicholas? Mr. Madan regards this as the likeliest conjecture; cf. *Klaus*. The letters are so carelessly formed that distinction between *e* and *o* cannot be certain.

\* Ms. *my nyze.*

III (R 7)

MS. HARL. 2330, f. 120.

(On the third of three fly-leaves at the end of a volume of prose treatises.)

Lay lay lulay lay, my dere moder, lullay.

- As I me went þis enderday  
 Al-one on my longyng,  
 Me thowth I say a wel fayre may  
 A louely child rockyng.  
 lull[ay]
- 5 þe mayd went with-owt song  
 Hir child on slepe to bring;  
 þe child thowth che ded hym wrong  
 And bad his moder syng.  
 lull[ay]
- 10 "Syng now, moder!" sayd þe child,  
 "What schal me beffalle  
 Aftur wen I come til eld,  
 ffor so done moders all.  
 lull[ay]
- 15 "ffor euery moder sekerly  
 þat con hir cradul kepe  
 Ys wond to lullon louely,  
 And bryngs hir child a slepe.  
 lulay
- "Swete moder," sayd þe child,  
 "Sythen þat ys so,  
 I pray ȝow þat ȝe wold me roke,  
 20 And syng sum-wat þerto."<sup>1</sup>  
 lullay

<sup>1</sup>The carol is presumably incomplete. Sufficient space is left at the foot of the page for at least one strophe; this part of the page is badly rubbed, as if a few more lines, including another *lull* in the margin, have been erased.

IV (R 18) *Version A*

MS. RAWL. C. 86, f. 72 b.

[Without title in this MS.]

- In a chirche as I gan knele  
 This enders daye to here a masse,  
 I sawe a sight me liked wele;  
 I shall yow tell what it was.  
 5 I sawe a pite in a place,  
 Owre lady and her sonne in feere;  
 Ofte she wepte and sayde, "Alas!  
 Now lith here dede my dere sonne dere!"
- Yt seide oure lady meke and mylde  
 10 To all women in þis kyns wyse:  
 "Make no dole for yowre chylde  
 A faire deth yf he diese;  
 ffor yf ye do ye ben vnwyse  
 To se my sonne as he lyth here.  
 15 Now is he dede, lo, where he lieth!  
 ffor þy sonne dyde, my dere sonne dere.
- "All mankynde be-holde and se! [f. 73]  
 . . . . .  
 20 With a crowne of þornes with grete envie  
 The Iewis putte my sonnys hede vpon,  
 The perisid his hert *with* a spere so long,  
 The blode as ye may se and here.  
 Allas," she seide, "My lyfe lastith to long.  
 Why ne had I dyde *with* my dere sonne dere?"
- 25 "All mankynde þat euer was borne  
 That haue children, be-holde *and* se  
 How my chylde lith me beforne  
 Vppon my lappe take doun of þe tre.  
 Ye daunce *your* chyldren vppon *your* knee  
 30 With clippyng and kyssyng *and* mery chere;

IV (R 18) *Version B*

Ms. ASHMOLE 61, f. 106.

*Lamentacion beate marie.*

- In a chyrch as I gan knelle  
 Thys endres dey fore to here messe,  
 I saw a syȝht me lykyd welle;  
 I schall ȝou tell how þat it was.  
 5 I saw a pyte in a place,  
 Oure lady *and* hyre sonne *in* fere;  
 Wele oft sche syȝed *and* seyð, "Alas!  
 ffore now lyes dede my dere son dere!"
- Than seyð oure lady, bope meke *and* myld,  
 10 To all women, "Be-hold *and* se,  
 And make ȝe no mone fore ȝour chyld  
 Of godes sond if it dede be;  
 ffore if ȝe do ȝe be not wyse [f. 106 b]  
 To se my sone as he lyȝet here.  
 15 Now he is dede; lo, *wer* he lyes!  
 ffore þi sone dyȝd, my dere son dere.
- "All man-kynd, be-hold *and* se!  
 My sone is nayled throught fote *and* hond.  
 With scharpe thornys *and* grete enye;  
 20 Iues put vp hys hede *with* poyntes strong,  
 Hys herte was persyd *with* a spere so long  
 The blod busschyð out, as ȝe may se here."  
 Sche seyð, "Alas! I lyfe to long,  
 Why ne had I dyȝed *with* my dere son dere?"
- 25 "All women þat euer be bore  
 And haue bore chylder, be-hold *and* se  
 How my son lyes me be-fore  
 On my skyrte take fro þe rode tre.  
 When ȝe danse ȝour chylder on ȝour kne  
 30 ȝe clyppe *and* kyse *with* mery chere;



Be-holde my sonne *and* beholde me! [Version A]  
ffor þy sonne dyede, my dere sonne dere.

“Woman, woman, wel is þe!

Thy chyldes cappe þou settist vpon,  
35 Thow pykest his hede *and* beholdest his ble,  
Thow wottist not wele whanne þou hast don;  
But euer, alas, I make mon  
To se my sonne as he lieth here;  
Oute of his I pyke þornes many oon,  
40 ffor þy sonne dide, my dere sonne dere.

“Woman, a chaplet chosyn þou hast,

Thy chylde doth it were to þy plesyng,  
Thow pynnest it *and* gret ioie makest,  
And I sit by my sonne sore sighing.  
45 My chylde hath a chapplet of þornes prykkynge, [f. 73 b]  
I clippe hym, I kisse hym, *with* carfull chere;  
Thow sittist lawghing, and I wepyng,  
ffor þy sonne dide, my dere sonne dere.

“Woman, whanne þou liste to play,

50 Thow hast þy childe on þy kne daunsyng,  
Thow handilist his fete; fetys arn þey,  
And vnto þy sight wele likyng.  
The lengest fynger vpon my hande  
Thorough my sonnys fete I maye þrest here;  
55 I take hem oute bloody, sore wepyng:  
ffor þy sonne dyde, my dere sonne dere.

“Woman, loke to me ageyne!

Youre chyldren play *with* youre pappis;  
To me þenketh it a grete payne  
60 In my sonnys brest to se so gret gappys,  
And ouer his bake so many swappys.  
*With* bloody lippis I kys hym here.  
Wel hard,” she seid, “ben myn happys!  
Why ne had I died *with* my dere sonne dere?

Be-hold my sone *and* be-hold me! [Version B]  
 fflore thy son dyjed, my dere son dere.

“O woman, now wele is the!  
 Thy chyldes cape þou doyst vpon,  
 35 Thou pykes hys erys *and* be-hold hys ble,  
 Thow wote not wele when þou hast don;  
 Bot euer, alas, I make my mone  
 To se my sone as he lyzt here;  
 Oute of hys hede I pyke many a thorn,  
 40 fflore þi son dyed, my dere son dere.

“Woman, a chaplyte ichos þou haste,  
 Thy chyld to were to thy lykyng,  
 Thou pynnyst hyre, grete ioi thou makyst;  
 And I sytte here full sore wepyng.  
 45 My sone hath a chaplyte of thornes prekyng,  
 I clype hym *and* kys with carefull chere;  
 Thou syttes syngyng, *and* I wepyng,  
 fflore þi son dyjed, my dere son dere.

“Woman, when þou lyst to pley,  
 50 Tho hast þi chyld on þi kne dansyng,  
 Thou be-holdes hys fase *and* hys aray  
 Vnto þi eȝe ffull wele lykyng.  
 The longyst fynger of my hond beyng  
 Throuȝt my sonys fete I may thyrst it here,  
 55 And take it oute, full sore wepyng;  
 fflore þi son dyjed, my dere sone dere.

“Woman, loke on me aȝene!  
 Thy chyld lyes sowkyng on þi pappys;  
 There of me thynke it is grete harme  
 60 In my sonys brest to se grete gappys,  
 And onne hys hede *and* body so many slapys. [f. 107]  
 With blody lyppys I kys hym here.  
 ffull herd,” sche seyð, “now be myn happys!  
 Why ne had I dyjed with my dere sone dere?”

65 "Woman þy chylde is hole and sounde, [*Version 4*]  
 And myn lith dede vpon my kne;  
 Thy chylde is lowse, myn lith bounde;  
 Thy chylde hath lyffe, and dede is he:  
 And all is for þe love of þe,  
 70 ffor my chylde trespast neuer here.  
 Women, why nyl ye wepe *with* me?  
 ffor þy sonne dyde, my dere sonne dere.

"Wepe *with* me, boþe man and wyffe! [f. 74]  
 My chylde is yours, *and* lovidde yow well.  
 75 Yf þy childe were deed and no lyffe  
 Thow coudist wel wepe at euery mele.  
 But for my chylde þou weptist neuer a dele;  
 Though þou loste þyn, myn hath no pere.  
 Thynke þat my chylde sende þyn boþe hap *and* hele!  
 80 ffor þy sonne dyed, my dere sonne dere.

"Women þat haue your wittes within  
 And seest my chylde vpon my kne dede,  
 Wepe not for þyne, but for myne,  
 And þou shalt haue full mekel mede.  
 85 Yt wolde my chylde a-geyn for yow blede  
 Rather þan ye dampned were.  
 Vnto þis mater take good hede!  
 ffor þy sonne dyede, my dere sonne dere.

"ffare-wele women! I may no more  
 90 Reherce your chyldren *and* your goodnesse;  
 I haue wepte for myn so sore  
 That I haue for-goten boþe ioye *and* blisse.  
 I praye yow all thynke on þis,—  
 My chylde hath euer be kynde to yow here;  
 95 Thynke on his passion, *and* he graunteth yow blis;  
 ffor þy sonne dyede, my dere sonne dere!"

*ffinis*

65      " Woman, thy chyld is hole *and* sownd,      [Version B]  
           And myn lyeht dede vpon my kne;  
           Thyn is lowse and myn is bownd,  
           And thyn hath lyfe, *and* dede is he:  
           And all is fore þe luffe of the,  
 70      ffore my sone trespassyd neuer here.  
           Woman, com and wepe *with* me!  
           ffore thy sone dyȝed, my dere son dere.

          " Wepe *with* me, both man *and* wyffe!  
           My sone is *ȝour*, and lufys ȝou wele.  
 75      And thyn *wer* dede *and* hade no lyfe,  
           Thou cowth well wepe at euery mele.  
           ffore my son þou wepys neuer a dele;  
           Thoff þou lufe thyn, myn hath no pere.  
           Thynke my son gafe þe lyfe *and* hele!  
 80      ffore þi sone dyȝed, my dere sone dere.

          " Woman, now þou canste þi wyte;  
           Thou seyst þi chyld wheþer it be seke *ore* ded.  
           Wepe þou fore myn, *and* not fore it  
           And þou schall haue mych to thy mede.  
 85      Thynke my sone wyll a-gayn bled  
           Raper than þou dampnyd were;  
           To þis matyre þou take gode hede!  
           ffore thy son dyȝed, my dere son dere.

          " ffare-wele, women! I may no more  
 90      Rehers ȝoure chylder *and* ȝour godnys;  
           I haue wepyd fore my son so sore  
           That I fore-gete all ioy and blys.  
           I praye ȝou all to thynke on þis,—  
           My son is ȝoure *and* lufys ȝou wele;  
 95      Thynke on hys passyon and hys blys,  
           ffore thy son dyȝed, my dere sone dere!"

*Amen quod* Rathe



## V (R 24)

Ms. RAWL. C. 86, f. 65.

Late as I wente on myn pleyng  
 I set my herte all in solase;  
 Criste on a crosse I sawe hangyng,  
 That dyede for man with-oute trespas.  
 5 To man he cried and sayde, "Alas!  
 Why art þou, man, vnkynde to me?  
 And now I dye to geve þe grace.  
*Quid ultra debui facere?*"

Criste Ihesu þis wordes may saye  
 10 To euery creature þat is vnkynde:  
 "What shulde I more, man, I þe praye,  
 Haue do for þe þat is be-hynde?  
 Thou art þe fayrest criature in kynde,  
 ffor I þe made on lyke to me,  
 15 And gave þe reason with witte and mynde;  
*Quid ultra debui facere?*

"I love þe, man, aboue all þyng.  
 Therfor for þe I wolde be bore,  
 And all for I wolde þe to blisse bryng;  
 20 What shulde I þanne for þe do more?  
 ffor Adam synne þou were forlore  
 And lyke for euer perisshid to be,  
 Yt I woll to blisse þe restore.  
*Quid ultra debui facere?*

"I muste love þe, I maye none oþer;  
 Therfor love me agayne,  
 Or ellys þou art an vnkynde broþer.  
 My love to haue þou shuldest be fayn.  
 In nede I þe helpe with myght and mayn,  
 30 And now on þe crosse I dye for the,  
 And suffir þornes to perich my brayn;  
*Quid ultra debui facere?*

[f. 65 b]

35 " My hondes for þe on þe crosse ben spreadde  
 To shew þe mercy yf þou wilt craue;  
 Me to offende þou shuldest be adrad,  
 ffor yf þou do wel I wol þe saue.  
 Whan þou art dede and lefte in grave  
 [And all thy frendes from the flee,]<sup>1</sup>  
 Yt þy sowle I seke to save;  
 40 *Quid ultra debui facere?*

" Whan I made þe to my lykenesse  
 I made þe lorde above all þynge,  
 And gave to þe all plentousnesse  
 Of fisshes þat arn in þe see swymmyng,  
 45 And ouer all bestes þat are crepyng  
 On erthe I made þe lorde to be,  
 And ouer all fowles in þe eyre fleying:  
*Quid ultra debui facere?*

50 " I made þe sonne with sterres of heven,  
 The mone also with bryght shynyng,  
 And sette þe sterres with planetis vije,—  
 All þis I did for þy plesyng;<sup>2</sup>  
 And of þe erth I made to spryng  
 Erbis and treis in þer degre,  
 55 Her frute to bere to þy norishyng:  
*Quid ultra debui facere?*

" Ther myght neuer creature on me pleyne  
 And seye þat I was vnkynde,  
 ffor to helpe þe I haue ben fayne;  
 60 But yt on þis þou hast no mynde.  
 To save man yt was devyned  
 That I shulde dye vpon a tre;  
 Wherfor for þe I was pyned.  
*Quid ultra debui facere?*

[f. 66]

<sup>1</sup> L. 38 supplied from the fragmentary printed version in Douce Fragm. f. 48 (c. 1550); cf. R 24 in Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. *plesaunce*.

65 "Grete love I shewid whanne I þe made  
 Of erth a creature most excellent,  
 Yf kyndnesse þanne in þe þou hadde  
 Thow shuldest love me *with* good entent.  
 Man, thy soule I made represent  
 70 To þe lykenesse of þe trinite.  
 ffor þou shuldest love as I ment:<sup>3</sup>  
*Quid ultra debui facere?*

"Though þou haue synned, yt come to me  
 And aske mercy *with* mekenesse,  
 75 ffor mercy to geve I am redy;  
 Thus shewith experience by expresse;  
 ffor I shewid neuer yt no crvelnesse  
 To synfull man þat askyth mercy;  
 Yt euer þou shewist vnkyndnesse.  
 80 *Quid ultra debui facere?*

"I gave þe reason and eyen clere  
 To teche þe flee from all evyll,  
 And also erys þou hast to here,  
 And in þy sovre I sette fre vill;  
 85 And now I hange on caluery hill  
 Naylid on crosse *with* naylys thre,  
 To save þe, man; þou shuldest not spill.  
*Quid ultra debui facere?*

"Whanne man had synned to hym I sende [f. 66 b]  
 90 Patriarkes, profettes, and postels also,  
 Trwe prechours to teche him to amende,  
 That mys had don to twynne me fro;  
 And to save from endles woo  
 I ordeyned of penaunce partys thre;  
 95 Why hatist þou me, man, why art þou me foo?  
*Quid ultra debui facere?*

<sup>3</sup> Ms. *went*.

- “Rather þan thou dampned shulde be,  
 I from hewen agayn wolde discende  
 And grevouser deth yt to suffir for þe.  
 100 Why wrathis þou me? I nouȝte offende.  
 All þat þe nedeth to þe I sende.  
 And now on þe crosse, as þou maiste se,  
 My body is scourged and all to-rente:  
*Quid ultra debui facere?*
- 105 “I haue not trespasid; why art þou me foo?  
 Why wratthis þou me, þat am þy frende?  
 Thow hast no cause to fle me fro;  
 I covet to kepe þe from þe fende.  
 Loo! euer to þe I am hende;  
 110 Yf þou aske mercy with humylite  
 I wyll for[geve] þe at þynne ende.  
*Quid ultra debui facere?*”  
*ffinis*

## VI (D 2 a)

Ms. PORKINGTON 10, f. 155 b.

- As I cam by a forrest syde  
 This endyrs day in one mornynge,  
 I buskyd me for to abyde  
 ffor I hard a lyttyll bryde synge;  
 5 A lessoun hit was for to mynge  
 Nedefull for euyrery man to lere;  
 This wer þe nottys þat schwe cothe synge:  
 “Do for þi selfe wyle þat þou art here!  
 “Do for þi selfe whyle þat þou may,<sup>1</sup>  
 10 And kepe þi sowle owte of drede;  
 Whan þou arte dede and layd in clay  
 Thy fryndys of þe wyll take non heyd,

<sup>1</sup> Ms. *hert* before *may*, dotted for expunction.



Thay wyll say þou haddyst no nyde  
 Of mese ne mattayns ne othere praere;  
 15 Thus wyll þi say, soo god me spede;  
 Do for þi selfe whyl þou arte here!

“This wyll thyne exseycuturis saye, [f. 156]  
 Cry and calle as they where woode;  
 Thav; þou haddyst neuer soo myche ȝeusterday,  
 20 To-day þi sayd þou haddyst noo good;  
 Hit fars be þe as ebb<sup>2</sup> and flod;  
 When yche bruke ys a hy rewere  
 Hyt stynttyt a-gaynē as hit stode.  
 Do for þi selfe whyll þat þou art here!

25 “This ys trwe, as I yowe tell,  
 When ych one mete wtt nodyre  
 Thay have þy corne and þy cattayll,  
 Thy treyssure, thaze hit were assure;  
 Thaz þou were his owne brodyre,  
 30 In heywyn or heyle wheþur þou where;  
 But here gettys þou no nodyre.  
 Do for þy selfe whyle þou art here!

“Do for þi selfe and þou be wyse!  
 Hyt wyll þe awaylle by monye a waye.  
 35 Woon penny be þi lyfe [þat] ys  
 Is worthe iij by hond aftur þi day; [f. 156 b]  
 This havfe I hard olde clercys saye.  
 I do þe dredles owtte of were  
 Thow wot not when to wend awaye:  
 40 Do for þi selfe wyll þat þou arte here!

“Exsecuturys þou wolte noñ have,  
 Thow holdys þi wyfe good and trwe;  
 But securely when þou art gooñ  
 ffull son aftur schwe woll not rewe,

<sup>2</sup> Ms. *ceeb*, second *e* dotted for expunction.

- 45 But soñ aftur schw wyll have a newe;  
 Thow arte awaye, a-nodyr ys nere.  
 Thow wottust not when to reymeyfe;  
 Do for þi selfe whyl þou art here!
- 50 “When þou art in þi grawe layd  
 And þi wyfe stondys by þe,  
 Soñ schwe sounyt in a brayde  
 And fayn, says schow, berryid wold be,  
 ‘Alase, my hert wyle breke in þre!’  
 Thus <sup>3</sup> makys schw a rwthefull chere;<sup>4</sup>  
 55 But lyttyll nowe schow dothe for þe. [f. 157]  
 Do for þi selfe whylle þou art here!
- 60 “Then schow reymewyzt whom agayn  
 Wryngyng here hondys as schw wer woode,  
 But in þe mornyng schw ys full fayn  
 When schow þynkyt oñ þe good,  
 And þaũkyt god þat daylþe ȝevd,<sup>5</sup>  
 ‘Now he wyle no more come here,  
 Where to schwld I geyf of his good?  
 He wyld geyfe noñ whyle he was here.’
- 65 “Cryst þat was in beydley m bor[̃n]  
 Of a maydyn fayre and fre,  
 And werryd þe croṽn keñ of thorñe  
 And seythe dyid vpon a tre,  
 And bozt bothe yow and me  
 70 W[t]t his blod þat was soo dere,  
 He ȝeyfe vs grace or þat we dye:  
 Do for ȝowre selfe whyle we byn here.”

Be thy lyfe days, *Amen Dico tibi!*

<sup>3</sup> Ms. *This*.

<sup>4</sup> Ms. *araye* with *chere* above it, in the same hand.

<sup>5</sup> The text is here apparently corrupt.

## VII (D 3)

MS. HARL. 1704, f. 31.

In thy most helth<sup>1</sup> wisely be-ware.

As I fared in a frith  
 In somer to hure fowlis syng,  
 I waxe wery and slepid there-with.  
 To me was sent a swete thing:

- 5 A lady me brought a fayre gold ring, [f. 31 b]  
 A blisfull worde there-in it bare;  
 It was this withoute lesyng,  
 "In thy most welth wysely be-ware!"

- 10 It was pight with pereles a-boute,  
 With saphures and rubies set on the syde,  
 Dyamaundis a riall route,  
 Pelled *and* pouderd with crapawdis white;  
 Balis bright aboute gan bide,  
 The clere cristall be-gan to clare,  
 15 The lightenesse began to glide:  
 "In thy most welth wisely be-ware!"

- "To thyn a-boue though þou be brought,  
 I rede be-ware of balis blast;  
 For thenke this worldis wele is nought;  
 20 Now is mirth and now tempest.  
 Thy ioie here it may not last,  
 For as a fayre this world doth fare;  
 For ony lordship that thou hast,  
 In thy most welth wisely be-ware!"

- 25 "Haue none envy, be my rede;  
 Let not thy tunge haue all the will.

<sup>1</sup> Read *welth*?

þou woost not what hangeth ouer thyn hed,  
 Ne what god will send the till;  
 Thou ne woost how sone god will  
 30 The spill but if thou spare;  
 In hell þou shalt be hampred ill,  
 But thou in thy most welth wisely be-ware.

“ffor nothyng be not bold  
 Thyn euencristen for to greue;  
 35 þen will thy maistership faynt and fold,  
 Thy dedis will turne the to repreue.  
 þenke on Adam and on Eve,  
 In her lordship how they were bare;  
 ffor a lord was a reue,—  
 40 ffor they ne coude in welth be-ware.<sup>2</sup>

[f. 32]

“Be not so bold in no manere wise  
 To do thy neighbore ony maner dispite,  
 ffor thou maist fall and he may rise;  
 All this lieth in goddis myght.  
 45 Saye no ill be none wight,  
 Thou art not sekyr hou þou shalt fare;  
 Loke þou reue no man his right,  
 But in þi most welth wisely be-ware.

“Here thou maist se euery day  
 50 Lordes *and* maisters of gret honoure;  
 Hyr goodis faileth and falleth a-waye,  
 Both castell, town, and toure,  
 Gold *and* riches, hall and boure;  
 ffro all þis richesse do they fare,  
 55 Pride hem shendith *with* sharp shoure  
 That in most welth will not be-ware.

“Sum *with* rooberye lese there good,  
 Sum pletyng with fals entent,

<sup>2</sup> Ms. *be bare*.



Sum bledyng her hert blood,  
 60 Sum her places be all to-brent,  
 With meselrie sum be shent,  
 Blynd and lame also sum arre;  
 þes mischefes to hem be lent  
 þat in her welth woll not be-ware.

65 "But whanne thi riche rentes gret  
 Is lost *and* fro the taken,  
 þere wil noman bid the to mete;  
 Thi bolde bost begynneth to slaken.  
 Men that the mirthsum dede make  
 70 To speke with the then will þey spare.  
 Euery body for thy sake [f. 32 b]  
 In here most helth<sup>3</sup> wisely be-ware.

"But whanne thy chaule hangeth a-downe,  
 Thy gresly gost goth his gate,  
 75 Where is then thy rich renown?  
 þan art thou a man al for-mate.  
 Be thou neuer so gret of state,  
 þrough one check all may missefare.  
 Euery man for thy sake  
 80 In there most welth wisely be-ware."

This worde was graue in a ringe  
 ffull *perfitely* all a-boute,  
 "In welth be-ware; for ony thing  
 To the erth thou shalt lowte.  
 85 Though thou be richest þat is oute,  
 There commeth a check and makyth the bare;  
 ffor goddes loue be not to proude,  
 But in youre most welth wisely be-ware!"

*Amen*

<sup>3</sup> Read *welth*?

## VIII (D 21)

MS. RAWL. POET. 36, f. 2.

- In a chambre as I stode  
 There lordys were and barenis <sup>1</sup> bold,  
 I saw a knyght were an hode  
 Was write *with lettres* al of gold;  
 5 That word I be-gan faste to be-holde  
 Weper it were ynglysch or what langage;  
~~It~~ was the word that I of tolde,  
 That *seruice* is non eritage.
- That word I gan faste devise  
 10 And thoght it was sothly sayde,  
 For I haue sen men in *seruise*  
 Lyke lordys gon a-rayd;  
 And sythen *with* a lytyl brayde  
 Ther lordys han deye for age,  
 15 þan waxe the pouerayle dysmayde;  
 For *seruice* is noon eritage.
- Somme man wole not hys neyghbour knowe  
 Whan he is put in hys *seruice*,  
 Whan he is out and is ful lowe  
 20 Than wole hys neybourne hym dyspice,  
 Than must he priuily hym dysgyse  
 And a-bate hys hys corage;  
 For-thy thynk on this yf þou be wyse,  
 þat *seruice* is noon eritage.
- 25 Truste þe not to mych to þy *seruice*, I rede,  
 Lenger þan þou may weel treuayle;  
 For whan þou may nat stonde in stede  
 Ne noght may thy master a-vayle;

<sup>1</sup> Or *bareins*.

þan he wole wyth-outen fayle  
 30 Wax wery of the and wyth-draw þy wage.  
 For-þy, yong men, I you counsayle,  
 Thynke þat seruice is noon eritage!

What is a prouder thyng or a worse  
 Than a knave *with*-outen drede,  
 35 Whan he is vp vpon hys master's horse?  
 To herkyn þis shalbe thy mede:  
 He shal a-lighten a-yen, so god me spede,  
 A-gayn to be put a page;  
 þerfore lestenyth and take good hede,  
 40 þat seruice is noon eritage.

Wele is hym that can a crafte! [f. 2 b]  
 And he wolle se it more or lasse;  
 For yf hys seruice be hym rafte,  
 He may leue in clennessen,  
 45 He may leue *with*-oute dystresse.  
 Connyng is syker stage,  
 And seruice is no sykynesne;  
 Thynke it is noon eritage!

I holde hym a fole, so haue I blysse,  
 50 That for hys seruice berith hym to hye,  
 And namely in the world þat now is  
 That turneth alday wondyrlye;  
 ffor I can ylke day wele aspye  
 Of gret gentelye yemen and page  
 55 Lesyth þer seruice wondyr-lye  
 ffor seruice is noon eritage.

## IX (D 33)

MS. TRIN. COLL. CAMBR. O. 9. 38 (JAMES'S No. 1450).

[f. 26 b]

*Hyre and see and say not all!*<sup>1</sup>

Throwe a towne as y com ryde,  
 Y sawe wretyn on a wall  
 A leffe of letterys long and wyde:  
 "Hyre, and se, and sey not all!"  
 5 And yff thow wolte thys lesson lere  
 And covetyste to dwell yn compeny,  
 What thow seyyste farre or nere,  
 Looke it towche to no velany;  
 But be thow evere curteyse and hende,  
 10 Both yn chambere and yn hall;  
 What-so-ever e thow knowyste by foo or frend,  
 Hyre, and se, and sey not all!

ffor there ys nothere kyng nore knygh,  
 Hy nothere lowe, yn noo degre,  
 15 That doyth or seyth by day or nygh,  
 That euer may hys worschypp be;  
 But som of them woll haue here wyll,  
 What happe there-of may be-fall.  
 All that ys yll, let it be styll;  
 20 And hyre, and se, and sey not all!

And yff thow be curteyse and free,  
 Moche worschypp may thow haue;  
 ffor ofte tymys a man may se  
 A knygh ys made of a knawe.  
 25 And yff thow wolte a-bowte the caste,  
 Lesyng ys as men don a ball;  
 The were well better at the laste  
 To hyre, and se, and sey not all.

<sup>1</sup> Title in a later hand.



Certyn thys ys a wondere thyng!  
 30 Be a tale nevere so fals,  
 Meny men haue grete lekyng  
 To tell it forth, and eche it als;  
 And be it tolde ons or twyse,  
 Hyt woll be long or it downe fall.  
 35 There-for y rede be ware and wyse,  
 And hyre, and se, and sey not all!

Who so woll euere talys tell  
 And take no hede what he seyth,  
 He is worse than þe devell of hell,  
 40 That nevere ys yn reste nothere yn peese;  
 ffor he beryth venom yn hys taylor  
 That ys more bytter then the gall;  
 And there-for do aftere my consayle:  
 Hyre, and se, and sey not all!

45 And yff thou wolte a jangler be [f. 27]  
 And sey well more then thou wete,  
 With that man thou myght not be,  
 Nore neythyre com to goode astate;  
 And yff thou wyltte holdyn be  
 50 Trewe, stedfaste as stone yn wall,  
 Y rede yow thynke on thes thre:  
 To hyre, and se, and sey not all.

And yff thou do, y the saye,  
 Mochell worschypp may ye wyn,  
 55 Abell to do both nygth and daye,  
 Helpe and ferthere all thy kyn;  
 And yff thou wolte be trewe of tong,  
 Men to conseyle woll the call,  
 Whethere thou be oolde or yong:  
 60 Hyre, and se, and sey not all!

ffor as men seyen yn here elde,  
 As the countrey woll bare recorde,

- Som men for manerys meke *and* mylde  
 Haue be made a full grete lorde;  
 65 Som to syng *with* crosse and ryng;  
 And som to were pelewre *and* pall.  
 There-fore y rede, thynke on thys thyng;  
 Hyre, and se, and sey not all!

*Explicit*

X (D 37)

MS. COTT. CLEOP. C. IV, f. 69.<sup>1</sup>

- Whan that phebus beemes schynnyng as golde  
 Gan to ylumyne over every nacyoun,  
 My harte dyd reioysse the hevynnes to byholde,  
 My dull sprytes receuyd consolacyoun;  
 5 Walkyng alone for my recreacyoun,  
 A voyse I harde, ryght mervelus obscure,  
 Wych sayde, "Harken vnto my protestacyoun:  
 Trust not the ontrusty, for hys promysse ys not sure!"
- Hys promysse ys not sure; thys texte schewyth it playne.  
 10 Whome schall I acuse ther-of to make probacyoun?  
 Thys falsse flatteryng worlde that sayth we schall remayne  
 Contenewally *with* hym in plesure and delectacyoun,  
 And haue welth and prosperyte <sup>2</sup> as men of reputacyoun,  
 Not to be transposed, but styll here to indure.
- 15 Harke thys grevous gloser of dyssymelacyoun!  
 Trust not the on-trusty; hys promys ys not sure!
- For he wyll soneste dysceve hym that trustyth hym moste,  
 So craftely he bygyleth ayge and all-soo yowth.  
 Trust the worde of god geven by the holy goste,  
 20 In wych ys containyd all veryte and trewth;

<sup>1</sup> At the top of the page, in place of title, stands the word *Ihesu*.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. *sprosperyte*.

For wyth hevenly grace hys floke he renewyth.  
 The worlde sayth, "Thow arte of me; be-leve that I am  
 trewer,  
 And I wyll not dysceve the, nor non that to me suyth."  
 Trust not the ontrusty; hys promysse ys not sure!

- 25 Cryste sayth fyrst, "Seke the kyngdome of heven, [f. 69 b]  
 And all thyng nessyssarye schall be gevyn vnto the."  
 Than sayth the worlde, "Set all at syxe and seven,  
 Folowe thy lust and plesure; thow schalt tary styll *with* me,  
 And I wyll not dysceue the, yf thow *with* me agree,  
 30 For of all ioie and myrth I am the renewer.  
 Thow schalt never deperte from thy golde and thy fee."  
 Yet trust not the ontrusty; hys promys ys not sure!

- O brykell worlde, full of hygh regalyte!  
 O mysyrable vale, *with* vayne thow woldest man spyll!  
 35 Thow provokest man to folowe sensualyte,  
 And makest hym by-leve he schall remayne here styll;  
 Thow bydest hym folowe plesure hys owen mynde to full-  
 fyll;  
 To folowe the flessh and the fynde thow dust hym sore yllure,  
 And sonest wyll dysceve hym when he wolde faynest haue  
 hys wyll.<sup>3</sup>  
 40 Trust not the ontrusty, for hys promysse ys not sure!

- To trust vnto hys promysse, yt were a mynde of madnesse;  
 He wavers as the wynde and doth both gloyse and fayne.  
 Now myrth, now sorowe, now dolour, then gladnesse;  
 Now better, now wursse, now plesure, then payne;  
 45 Now to want, then to haue, now love, then dysdayne;  
 Now ebbe, now flodde, now corrupte, now pure;  
 Now hoote, now colde, now drowght, now rayne.  
 Trust not the ontrusty, hys promysse ys not sure!

<sup>3</sup> *Wyll* above the line in the MS.

- All men be not in pouertye, nor all be not in welth; [f. 70]  
 50 All be not wylde, nor all be not tayme;  
 All be not in sykenes, nor all be not in helth;  
 All in good reporte, nor all in yvell name;  
 All be not dyshonoryde, nor all in worldely fame;  
 All be not mery, nor all in ferefull fure;  
 55 All be not in ernest, nor all be not in game.  
 Trust not the ontrusty, hys promys ys not sure!

- Yf all men were a-lyke rych, then who schuld obay other?  
 Yf all men were a-lyke strong, who schuld wynne the fylde?  
 Yf all men wer a-lyke pore, then who schuld helpe hys  
 brother?  
 60 Yf all men were a-lyke wyse, who schulde be reconsylde?  
 Yf all men were trewe and trusty, then who schulde be  
 begylde?  
 And all men of lyke ayge, to byleve it wolde vs procure  
 That we schulde lyve and dye all at onsse,—man, woman,  
 and chyld,—  
 And so trust thys on-trusty worlde, wych ys full onsure.

- 65 Euery man ys not of good dysposyssyouns,  
 Nor all men be not geven to do yll;  
 So contrary persons hath dyversse condyssyons,  
 Waveryng as the worlde settes them at ther wyll.  
 He that wrought vs hath bowght vs by hys devyne power and  
 skylle,  
 70 He doth save vs, and wyll haue vs, for we be hys cure;  
 He hath promysed and devysed that we schall com hym tyll.  
 Trust hym that ys trusty, hys promys ys sure!

- The waye lythe soo streght that foreward must we goo,  
 From owur youth travelyng tyll that we be olde; [f. 70 b]  
 75 Backe we schall not returne, nother for frynde nor foo.  
 Who schall make vs yong agayne for ony sum<sup>4</sup> of golde?

<sup>4</sup>Ms. *sm*<sup>a</sup>, the common abbreviation for *summa*, here transferred to represent the English equivalent. This explanation was suggested to me by Mr. D. T. B. Wood, of the Department of MSS., British Museum.



- From day to day *owur* yeres schall be sone tolde;  
 We may perceve and see it ys no dreame nor schewer;  
 Thys worlde doth but flater, playnely we may by-holde.  
 80 Trust not the on-trusty, hys promysse ys not sure!

- Ther ys not the myghtyest, the lyghteste, the wyghtest þat  
 doth walke,  
 The maddest, the <sup>s</sup> saddest, the gladdest of them all,  
 The fayntest, the quentest, the dayntyest in ther talke,  
 The faytest, the quettest, the greteste ye can call,  
 85 The frykest, the quykest, the trykest vnyuersall,  
 The newest, the trewest, the duest to endure,  
 The longest, the strongest, but from hensse deperte schall.  
 Truste not the ontrusty, for hys promys ys not sure!

- Yf we by-leve cryste, than schall we planely see  
 90 That hys worde must be trewe that he sayth in hys gossell:  
 "He that ys of the worlde ys not of me."  
 Loke that we conclude, as skrypture doth tell,  
 All worldly plesures from vs to expell;  
 As god hath comandyd, soo kepe *owur* hartes invre.  
 95 Then schall we haue the joye that all joyes doth exsell.  
 Trust hym that ys trusty, hys promys ys sure!

*finis*

<sup>s</sup> Ms. *the the*.

## XI (M 11)

MS. CORPORATION OF TENTERDEN, (OLDEST RECORD BOOK),  
f. 14.<sup>1</sup>

- Be a wildernes  
As I did passe  
The swet floores for to smell,  
I sawe a goodly<sup>2</sup> lady  
5 Mornyd righth pituisly  
Seyng, "A-dewe *and* ffarewelle!  
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10 . . . . . price<sup>4</sup>  
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.  
15 Wich hath you this begilid.  
Yet all the faut wasse not in me,  
Tho you disseuyd be.  
Wherfore I besech *your* grace

<sup>1</sup> Ms. described *Hist. MSS. Com. Report* vi, Appendix, pp. 569 f. This poem occurs at the top of the fourteenth of the loose leaves (as they are at present arranged), that precede the volume proper, having once formed a padding to the leather sides of the book; they apparently once were part of the Account Book of a Tailor and Draper for the year 1535-1536 and a few years following.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. *gôdly*.

<sup>3</sup> After l. 6 occur, in the same hand, the following lines, which have been crossed out, apparently by the original writer:

All wordly (*sic*) yoye (*sic*)  
Clene is gone a way  
And th . . . I rage in woo.

A tear in the ms. has removed part of the last of these three lines, and the first half of the following five.

<sup>4</sup> Part of a letter, probably *f* of *of*, is visible before *price*.

- 20 To haue on me compassion,  
 For cowncell wasse the occasioun  
 W<sup>3</sup>]ich movid me to this case.  
 The lioun of price wyth the floor the lyse!  
 Yett and the faut wasse not in me.”<sup>6</sup>

## XII (M 20)

MS. HARL. 3952, f. 105 b.<sup>1</sup>

The lame[ntacioun] of ladyes for the death of king Edward  
 the iiij<sup>th</sup>

- [In Ma]y whan euery herte is lyghte  
 [And f]ayre flourys doth sprede *and* springe  
 [I rose me up] byfore the daye bryghte  
 [For to heyre th]e birddys syng  
 5 [I herd a wofu]ll lamentinge

<sup>3</sup> One loop of this letter is visible.

<sup>6</sup> At the top of f. 14 b, in a different hand, and therefore quite disconnected with the fragment printed above, are the lines which are given in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report* apparently as part of the same poem:

Banesshid am I, <i>and</i> no cause whye,	} farewele	
Thorow thoughte for and disdayne;		all friske
And tho that I therfore shoulde dye,		farewele
Yet can I not refrayne.		<i>and fere</i>

Not refrayne; shoulde dye.

Alas that same swete fase whome dethe cevelle

Hathe strykyn with his mase | *and* takyne away fro me!

Compare the religious song (*Gude and Godlic Ballatis*, p. 63; cf. note, p. 253), beginning:

Allace that same sweit face  
 That deit vpon ane tre.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor Carleton Brown for the transcript of this fragment. The left-hand portion of the page has been torn away. The phrases in brackets are supplied from second copies of the first strophe and of l. 22, which have been added below.

[Of ladyes tha]t were clothed in blake  
 . . . . . pt for king Edwardes sake  
  
 . . . . . alas  
 . . . . . oble kyng  
 10 . . . . . ll destresse  
 . . . . . sor morninge  
 . . . . . handis wringe  
 . . . . . lothis blake  
 . . . . . wardes sake  
  
 15 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . morne  
 . . . . . mo . . .  
 20 . . . . . clothes blak  
 . . . . . Edwardes sake  
  
 . . [e ded wer clothe]s of sylke  
 . . . . . hevie  
 . . . . . <sup>t</sup> mylke  
 25 . . . . .  
 . . . . . **mems**  
 . . . . . clothe blake  
 . . . . . ing edwardes sak  
  
 . . . . . tyme was king  
 30 . . . . . prosperite

## APPENDIX B

### ALPHABETICAL REGISTER OF MIDDLE ENGLISH CHANSONS D'AVENTURE

[All known sources, both manuscript and printed, are listed for all the poems included in the register, with the exception of popular ballads and poems by known authors (Lydgate, Dunbar, etc.), in which cases reference is made only to the standard editions.]

#### A (AMOROUS)

A lone a lone here y *am* my sylf a lone, etc. (burden prefixed to A 27).<sup>1</sup>

1. As I came by a bowre soo fayr.

Ms. Rawl. C. 813, c. 1520-1540. Ed. Padelford, *Anglia*, xxxi. p. 312.

2. As I did walk onys be ane medo side.

Ms. at Wemyss Castle, *sæc.* xv, first half; the poem written on a fly-leaf, not later than c. 1542. Edd. Laing, *Select Remains*, p. 361; Laing, *Early Pop. Poetry*, i. p. 112.

As I gaed out in a May morning. Cf. 29 (version C).

As I passyd by a sartayn place (line 3 of A 13).

3. As I stode in studyenge allone.

*The Complaynte a-geyne Hope*. Mss. Bodl. 638, f. 209 b; Fairfax 16, f. 195 b; Harl. 7333, f. 135; all *sæc.* xv. Unprinted.—Cf. Hammond, *Chaucer, A Bibliographical Manual*, pp. 177, 334 ff., 416.

4. As I stod on a day me self vnder a tre.

Ms. Arundel 27, College of Arms, *sæc.* xiv, beg. Ed. *Rel. Ant.* ii. p. 19.—The ms. is no longer marked "E. D. N. No. 27" (presumably representing "Edward, Duke of Norfolk"), as it is said to be, *Rel. Ant.*, l. c.

<sup>1</sup> Padelford, *Herrig's Archiv*, cxix. p. 427, No. 90, suggests that the lines beginning "Alone, alone," etc., are the burden to No. 91, and not a separate poem, as Fehr considered them to be.



5. As I walked fforth one morninge.

Ballad, *Christopher White*. Ed. Child, *Ballads*, No. 108.

As I went forth to take the air. Cf. 29 (version D).

6. Be chance bot evin this vthir day.

Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Ed. *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 358. Colophon: "*Finis quod ane Inglisman.*"

7. By a bancke as I lay/musyng my sylfe alone hey how.

Ms. Roy. App. 58, c. 1500-1510. Edd. Chappell, *Old Engl. Pop. Music*, I. p. 46; Collier, *Extracts from Stationers' Registers*, Shak. Soc. London, 1848-1849, I. p. 193; Rimbault, *Little Book*, No. 16, p. 53; Furnivall, *Captain Cox*, p. cxxxi; Flügel, *Anglia*, XII. p. 264; Flügel, *Neuengl. Leseb.* p. 139; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 71.

8. By Arthur's Dale as late I went.

Ballad, *Bonny Bee Hom.* Ed. Child, *Ballads*, No. 92 A. Version B beg., "In Lauderdale I chanc'd to walk."

9. By west off late as I dyd walke.

Ms. Cott. Vesp. A. xxv, *sæc.* xvi, second half. Edd. Ritson, *The Caledonian Muse*, London, 1785, 1821, p. 172; Laing, *Select Remains*, p. 367; Laing, *Early Pop. Poetry*, II. p. 74; Bøddeker, *Jb. f. rom. u. engl. Spr. u. Lit.* N. F. II. p. 220.

(C) Olle to me the rysshys grene, etc. (burden prefixed to A 11).

10. Erle at the day doue.

Minute-book of Burgh Sasines of Aberdeen; recorded (1503-1507) together with some verses by Dunbar. Ed. W. Dauney, *Ancient Scottish Melodies*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1838, p. 49 (in "Preliminary Dissertation").

11. ffor my pastyme vpon a day.

Ms. Roy. App. 58, c. 1500-1510. Edd. Ritson, *Anc. Songs*, p. lxxv; Chappell, *Old Engl. Pop. Music*, I. p. 38; Furnivall, *Captain Cox*, p. clii; Flügel, *Anglia*, XII. p. 259; Padelford, *XVI. Cent. Lyrics*, p. 83.

12. Furth ouer the mold at morrow as I ment.

Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Ed. *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 774. Colophon: "*Finis quod Stewart.*"

13. Good awdience, harken to me in this cace.

Line 3: "As I passyd by a sartayn place."

Ms. Ashmole 48, *sæc.* xvi, middle. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Ball.* Roxb. Club, p. 129. Colophon: "*Finis, quod J. Wallys.*"

14. Hay how the mavys/on a brere.  
 Ms. Addit. 5665, *sæc.* xvi, beg. Ed. Fehr, *Herrig's Archiv*, cvi. p. 284. (Cf. Padelford, *ibid.*, cxix. p. 427, No. 98.)  
 Howe shulde I be so plesunte, etc. (burden prefixed to A 33).
15. I hard lately to a ladye.  
 Ms. Ashmole 48, *sæc.* xvi, middle. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Ball.* Roxb. Club, p. 28. Colophon: "*Fynis, quoth G. F.*"  
 I haue loued so many a day, etc. (burden prefixed to A 38, *q. v.*).
16. In a fryht as y con fere fremede.  
 Ms. Harl. 2253, c. 1310. Edd. Wright, *Spec. Lyr. Poetry*, p. 36; Bûddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.* p. 158, W. L. vi.
17. In a garden vnderneath a tree.  
 Ms. Ashmole 176, *sæc.* xvi. Ed. Appendix A, No. 1.
18. In a sartayn place apoyntytyd for pleasur.  
 Ms. Ashmole 48, *sæc.* xvi, middle. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Ball.* Roxb. Club, p. 133. Colophon: "*Finis, quod John Walles.*"
19. In an arber of honor, set full quadrant.  
 Ms. Ashmole 48, *sæc.* xvi, middle. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Ball.* Roxb. Club, p. 136. Colophon: "*Fynys, quod Johan Walles.*"
20. In Bowdoun, on blak monunday.  
 Ms. Maitland, c. 1570-1590. Edd. Pinkerton, *Anc. Scot. Poems*, i. p. 135; Sibbald, *Chron. Scot. Poetry*, iii. p. 195. Colophon: "*Quod Clappertoun.*"  
 In Lauderdale I chanc'd to walk. Cf. 8 (version B).
21. In May in a morning, I movit me one.  
 Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Ed. *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 647.
22. In may whan euery herte is lyzt/And flourys frossehely  
 sprede & sprynge.  
 Ms. Cambr. Gg. 4. 27, c. 1400. Ed. E. P. Hammond, *Journ. of Engl. and Germ. Philol.* vii. p. 105.
23. In secreit place this hyndir nycht.  
 Dunbar, *Scot. Text. Soc.* ii. p. 247.
24. In somer quhen flouris will smell.  
 Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Ed. Sibbald, *Chron. Scot. Poetry*, iii. p. 203; *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 399.
25. In þe (ye) begynnyng off thys yere.  
 Ms. Roy. App. 58, c. 1500-1510. Ed. Flügel, *Anglia*, xii. p. 265.

26. In the forest of noyous hevynes.

Ms. Harl. 682, *sæc.* xv. Ed. Taylor, *Poems, Written in English, by Charles, Duke of Orleans*, Roxburghe Club, London, 1827, p. 105. Translated from Charles d'Orléans (ed. d'Héricault, i. p. 82); the translator, according to Professor MacCracken (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xxvi. pp. 142 ff.) is probably the Duke of Suffolk, the English friend of Charles d'Orléans, to whom Professor MacCracken attributes also A 32 and A 46.

- ✓ 27. In wyldernes/there found y besse.

Ms. Addit. 5665, *sæc.* xvi, beg. Edd. Ritson, *Anc. Songs* (Ed. 1792), p. 122; Fehr, *Herrig's Archiv*, cvi. p. 283. (Cf. Padelford, *ibid.*, cxix. p. 427, Nos. 90-91.)

28. Into a mirthfull May morning.

John Forbes, *Cantus, Songs and Fancies, To Three, Four, or Five Parts . . .* The Third Edition, much enlarged and corrected. Printed in Aberdeen by John Forbes, . . . 1682. Reproduced for the New Club Series, Paisley, 1879, The III. Song. ("Evidently an English song of early date"; cf. *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, p. 270, note on R 23.)

29. Into a sweet May morning.

Ballad, *John of Hazelgreen*. Ed. Child, *Ballads*, No. 293 A. Versions B, C, and D, begin respectively: "It was on a morning early," "As I gaed out in a May morning," "As I went forth to take the air."

It was on a morning early. Cf. 29 (Version B).

- ✓ 30. Mosti ryden by rybbesdale.

Ms. Harl. 2253, c. 1310. Edd. Wright, *Spec. Lyr. Poetry*, p. 33; Bøddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.* p. 154, W. L. v.

31. My jorney lat as I dyd take.

Ms. Ashmole 48, *sæc.* xvi, middle. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Ball.* Roxb. Club, p. 97. Colophon: "*Finis*, quoth Harry Sponare."

Nay mary I nay maye mary, etc. (burden prefixed to A 25).

32. Not far fro marche, in the ende of feuyere.

Ms. Fairfax 16, *sæc.* xv, first half. Ed. MacCracken, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xxvi. p. 167, with the suggestion (p. 149) that the reference is to a political, not to an amorous, grievance; attributed to the Duke of Suffolk, *ibid.*, pp. 148 ff.

- ✓ 33. Not long agoo/it chaunsed soo.

Sir Thomas Wyatt, *Poetical Works*, Aldine Edition, London, n. d., p. 130; Padelford, *XVI. Cent. Lyrics*, p. 12.

No[w] spri[nke]s the sprai, etc. (burden prefixed to A 37).

34. Quhen Flora had ourfret þe firth.

Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Edd. Ramsay, *The Ever Green*, I. p. 256; Sibbald, *Chron. Scot. Poetry*, III. p. 160; Bann. MS. Hunt. Club, p. 621; *Poems of Alexander Scott*, Scot. Text. Soc. App. p. 188. Colophon (in *The Ever Green*): "Quod Stewart."

35. Quhen Tayis bank wes blumyt brycht.

Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Edd. Brydges and Haslewood, *The British Bibliographer*, London, 1810-1814, IV. p. 186; Laing, *Select Remains*, p. 220; Laing, *Early Pop. Poetry*, I. p. 169; Bann. MS. Hunt. Club, p. 660.

Quhy so strat strang go we by youe? (burden prefixed to A 10).

36. Still vndir þe levis greene.

Ms. Maitland, c. 1570-1590; this poem mentioned in *Complaint of Scotland*, 1549. Edd. Pinkerton, *Anc. Scot. Poems*, II. p. 205; Sibbald, *Chron. Scot. Poetry*, I. p. 201 (dated 1460-1488); Laing, *Early Pop. Poetry*, II. p. 34; Furnivall, *Captain Cox*, p. cl; G. G. Smith, *Specimens of Middle Scots*, Edinburgh and London, 1902, p. 64.

37. This endre dai als i me rode.

Ms. Hale 135, Lincoln's Inn; this entry c. 1303. Edd. Woodbine, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* IV. p. 236; Skeat, *ibid.*, V. p. 104.

38. þis ender day wen me was wo.

Ms. Addit. 5666, *sæc.* XIV-XV; a fragment, probably *sæc.* XV. Ed. Ritson, *Anc. Songs*, p. xlvi; copied in full, from the MS., above, p. 59.—Musical notes accompany the line, "I haue loued so many a day," quoted above as burden to A 38, and the line, "þis ender day," etc. Possibly the two lines are fragments of two separate songs, as Ritson suggests; but more probably they represent burden and song proper, as is indicated not only by their juxtaposition in the MS., but also by the close analogy that they offer to such songs as A 37.

This nyghtes rest, this nyghtes rest, etc. (burden prefixed to A 17).

39. This other day I hard a may.

Ms. Addit. 31,922, *sæc.* XVI, first half. Edd. Flügel, *Anglia*, XII. p. 236; Flügel, *Neuengl. Leseb.* p. 135; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 59.

40. Thys yonders nyght/I herd a wyght.

Ms. Roy. App. 58, c. 1500-1510. Ed. Flügel, *Anglia*, XII. p. 265.

41. Throughe a forest as I can ryde.

Ms. Rawl. C. 813, c. 1520-1540. Edd. Halliwell, *Nugæ Poet.* p. 42 (where the MS. reference reads erroneously, "Rawl. C. 258");

- Child, *Ballads*, No. 111, *Crow and Pie*; Padelford, *Anglia*, xxxi. p. 374.
- ✓42. Under ane brokin bank ane by.  
Ms. Maitland, c. 1570-1590. Edd. Pinkerton, *Anc. Scot. Poems*, II. p. 200; Sibbald, *Chron. Scot. Poetry*, III. p. 197.
- ✓43. Vp y arose in verno tempore.  
Ms. Addit. 5665, *sæc.* xvi, beg. Ed. Fehr, Herrig's *Archiv*, cvi. p. 284. (Cf. Padelford, *ibid.*, cxix. p. 427, No. 97.)—Ms. Ashmole 176, *sæc.* xvi. f. 98 b. Unprinted.
- ✓44. Upon a mornynge of May.  
Ms. Harl. 1317, *sæc.* xvi. first half. Ed. *Rel. Ant.* II. p. 39.
- ✓45. Upon the Midsummer ewin, mirriest of nichtis.  
Dunbar, *Scot. Text Soc.* II. p. 30.
- ✓46. Walkyng allon, of wyt full desolat.  
Ms. Fairfax 16, *sæc.* xv, first half. Ed. MacCracken, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* xxvi. p. 163; attributed to the Duke of Suffolk, *ibid.*, pp. 148 ff.  
Wep no more for me, swethart, etc. (burden prefixed to A 44).

## R (RELIGIOUS)

1. All under the leaves, and the leaves of life.  
Traditional carol. Edd. Bullen, *Carols and Poems*, London, 1886, p. xxiii; *Oxford Bk. of Engl. Verse*, 1907, No. 382; *Oxford Bk. of Ballads*, 1910, No. 111; Rickert, *Carols*, p. 145; etc.  
Alone, alone, alone, alone, etc. (burden prefixed to R 6).
2. And by a chapell as y came.  
Ms. Porkington 10, c. 1460. Ed. Appendix A, No. II.
3. As I cam (? walkyng) by þe way.  
Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* xvi, first half. Edd. Flügel, *Engl. Weihnachtslieder*, p. 81; Flügel, *Anglia*, xxvi. p. 267 (cf. Holthausen, *Anglia*, xvii. pp. 443 f.); Pollard, *XV. Cent. Prose and Verse*, p. 94; Dyboski, *Ball. MS.* 354, p. 48; Rickert, *Carols*, p. 102.
4. As I me lenyd unto a joyful place.  
Ms. Harl. 2251, *sæc.* xv. Ed. Halliwell, *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, p. 78.—Ms. Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 21 (James's No. 601), *sæc.* xv; two copies, ff. 196 b, 245 b. Unprinted.



## 5. As I me ros in on morwenyng.

Ms. Sloane 2593, c. 1450. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Club, p. 48.—Ms. Bodl. Engl. Poet. c. 1, *sæc.* xv, second half; beg., "As I up ros in a mornyng." Ed. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Percy Soc. p. 50; Rickert, *Carols*, p. 68; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 141 (a text combined from MSS. Bodl. and Sloane).—Ms. Addit. 25,478, *sæc.* xix, f. 27 (a transcript evidently from Ms. Bodl.). Unprinted.

## 6. As I me walkyd this endurs day.

Ms. Addit. 5465, c. 1500. Ed. Fehr, *Herrig's Archiv*, cvi. p. 59 (cf. Padelford, *ibid.*, cxix. p. 425, No. xxxi).

## 7. As I me went þis ender day.

Ms. Harl. 2330, *sæc.* xv. Ed. Appendix A, No. iii.

## 8. As I out rode this enderes night.

(Song from the Nativity Play, Pageant of Shearmen and Tailors, written before 1500, revised 1534.) Ed. Pollard, *XV. Cent. Prose and Verse*, p. 272; Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. LXXXVII, 1902, pp. 31 f.; Rickert, *Carols*, p. 99.

## 9. As I pass'd by a river side.

Traditional carol, *The Carnal and the Crane*. Ed. Child, *Ballads*, No. 55; etc.

As I up ros in a mornyng. Cf. 5 (Bodl. version).

## \*10. As I went þrow a gardyn grene.

Ms. Sloane 2593, c. 1450. Edd. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Club, p. 53; Fehr, *Herrig's Archiv*, cix. p. 58 (cf. Padelford, *ibid.*, cxix. p. 429, No. xli); Rickert, *Carols*, p. 174.—Ms. Advoc. Libr. Edinb. Jac. v. 7. 27, *sæc.* xv; beg., "I passud thorow a garden grene." Ed. Turnbull, *Visions of Tundale*, p. 157.

As Ihesu rewlith myn reccheles mynde. Cf. 11 (Rawl. version).

## 11. As resoun rewlid my richelees mynde.

a. Ms. Lambeth 853, c. 1430. Ed. *Polit. Relig. and Love Poems*, p. 233.

b. Ms. Harl. 3954, c. 1420. Ed. *ibid.*, p. 238.

c. Ms. Douce 78, *sæc.* xv. f. 3 a. Unprinted.

d. Ms. Rawl. C. 86, *sæc.* xvi, first half, f. 74 b; beg., "As Ihesu rewlith myn reccheles mynde." Unprinted.

On versions a and b, cf. Jacoby, *Vier Mittlengl. Geistl. Gedichte*, Berlin, n. d. (? 1890) p. 31; Crowne, "M. Engl. Poems on Joys and Compassion of Mary," *Catholic Univ. Bull.* viii. p. 315; Thien, *Über die Engl. Marienklagen*, Kiel, 1906, pp. 14, 68 ff.; Taylor, "The Engl. *Planctus Mariac*," *Mod. Philol.* iv. pp. 609 f., 619 f., 633 f.

12. As þat I walkid in the monthe of May.

*Hoccleve's Works. I. The Minor Poems.* Ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. Lxi. 1892, p. 67. (Translation of a French poem of which an extract is printed, *Rom.* viii. pp. 335 f.)

13. Ase y me rod þis ender day.

Ms. Harl. 2253, c. 1310. Edd. Wright, *Spec. Lyr. Poetry*, p. 94; Bøddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.* p. 217, G. L. xiv.

14. Atween mydnyht and the fressh morwe gray.

Lydgate, Ed. MacCracken, i. p. 268.

15. By one foreste as I cone ryde.

Line 7 of poem beg., "Lovely lordynges, ladys lyke." Ms. Porkington 10, c. 1460. Ed. Halliwell, *Early Engl. Misc.* p. 1.

16. Downe by þone riuer I ran.

Religious ballad, *sæc.* xvi, probably first half. Ed. *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, p. 168.

17. From petres bourh in o morewenyng.

Line 11 of poem beg., "Nou skrinkeþ rose & lylie flour." Ms. Harl. 2253, c. 1310. Edd. Wright, *Spec. Lyr. Poetry*, p. 87; Bøddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.* p. 212, G. L. xii; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 97; Patterson, *M. Engl. Pen. Lyric*, p. 98.

I passud thorow a garden grene. Cf. 10 (Advoc. Libr. Edinb. version).

Iesu crist, heouene kyng (line 1 of R 25).

18. In a chirche as I gan knele.

Ms. Rawl. C. 86, *sæc.* xvi, beg. Ed. Appendix A, No. iv, Version A.—Ms. Ashmole 61, *sæc.* xv, end. Ed. *ibid.*, No. iv, Version B.

The same poem without narrative preface, occurs in mss. Cambr. Ff. 2. 38 and Ff. 5. 48, both *sæc.* xv; edd. Wright, *Chester Plays*, II. p. 207, and *Rel. Ant.* II. p. 213, respectively; discussed by Jacoby, pp. 30 f., Crowne, p. 315, Thien, pp. 17 f., Taylor, p. 610 (cf. on R 11). Both Cambr. texts omit strophes 1-3 of R 18, but have two strophes (Cambr. str. 5, 7) that are lacking in R 18; neither Cambr. text changes the refrain from, "Now lith here dede my dere sonne dere" to "ffor þy sonne dyde, my dere sonne dere," after str. 1, as do both versions of R 18; both Cambr. texts agree in a strophe order different from that of R 18.

19. In a valey of þis restles mynde.

Ms. Lambeth 853, c. 1430. Ed. *Polit. Relig. and Love Poems*, p. 180; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 151 (extracts.)—Ms. Cambr. Hh. 4. 12, *sæc.* xv, second half; beg., "In the vaile of restles mynd." Ed. *Polit. Relig. and Love Poems*, p. 181.

20. In May as that Aurora did vpspring.  
Dunbar, Scot. Text Soc. II. p. 174.
21. In somer bi-fore þe ascenciun.  
Ms. Vernon, c. 1370. Ed. *Minor Poems Vernon MS.* II. p. 733; Pat-  
terson, *M. Engl. Pen. Lyric*, p. 125.—Ms. Addit. 22,283, c. 1380-1400.  
Unprinted. (Noted by Varnhagen, *Anglia*, VII. p. 281, No. 26.)
22. In sommer tyme I dyd prepare.  
Ms. Cott. Vesp. A. XXV, sæc. XVI, second half. Ed. Bøddeker, *Jb. f.*  
*rom. u. engl. Spr. u. Lit.* N. F. III. p. 103.  
In the vaile of restles mynd. Cf. 19 (Cambr. version).
23. In till ane myrthfull Maij morning.  
Religious ballad, sæc. XVI, probably first half. Ed. *Gude and Godlie*  
*Ballatis*, p. 137.
24. Late as I wente on myn pleyng.  
Ms. Rawl. C. 86, sæc. XVI, beg. Ed. Appendix A, No. v.—A portion  
of this poem (str. 2, ll. 2-8, str. 3, 5) exists in Douce Fragm. f. 48  
(formerly Douce Fragm. 94), fol. 2, ascribed by Proctor (*Notes of*  
*Early Printed Fragm. in the Bodl.*) to the press of W. Copland,  
c. 1550. Flügel (*Anglia*, XII. pp. 585 ff.) does not mention these  
strophes in his account of the fragment.  
Lay lay lulay lay, my dere moder lullay (burden prefixed to  
R 7).  
Lovely lordynges, ladys lyke (line 1 of R 15).  
Man, meve thy mynd, & joy this fest, etc. (burden pre-  
fixed to R 3).  
Mery hyt ys in may mornynge, etc. (burden prefixed to R 2).  
Moder qwyt as lylie flour (burden prefixed to R 5).  
Nou skrinkeþ rose & lylie flour (line 1 of R 17).  
Nowel, nowel, nowel, syng we with myrth, etc. (burden pre-  
fixed to R 26).
25. þis enderday in o morewenyng.  
Line 10 of poem beg., "Iesu crist, heouene kyng." Ms. Harl. 2253,  
c. 1310. Edd. Wright, *Spec. Lyr. Poetry*, p. 59; Bøddeker, *Altengl.*  
*Dicht.* p. 193, G. L. v; Patterson, *M. Engl. Pen. Lyric*, p. 88.
26. Under a tre, in sportyng me.  
Ms. Bodl. Engl. Poet. e. 1, sæc. XV, second half. Edd. Wright, *Songs*  
*and Carols*, Percy Soc. p. 73; Rickert, *Carols*, p. 20.—Ms. Addit.  
25,478, f. 33 b, sæc. XIX (a transcript evidently from Ms. Bodl.).  
Unprinted.

## 27. Whan Dame Flora/In die aurora.

*The Armonye of Byrdes.* Ed. John Wight, prob. c. 1551-1559; Re-edd. Collier, Percy Soc. VII; W. C. Hazlitt, *Remains of Early Pop. Poetry of Engl.* London, 1864-1866, III. p. 184.

## D (DIDACTIC)

Allone as I went vp and doun. Cf. 13 b.

## 1. Ane aigit man twyss fourty yeiris.

Kennedy. Mss. Bannatyne, 1568; Maitland, c. 1570-1590. Edd. Ramsay, *The Ever Green*, I. p. 115; Sibbald, *Chron. Scot. Poetry*, I. p. 363; Dunbar, ed. Laing, II. p. 91; *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 780.

## 2. As I cam by a forrest syde.

a. MS. Porkington 10, c. 1460. Ed. Appendix A, No. VI.

b. MS. Bannatyne, 1568; beg., "Doun by ane rever as I red." Edd. Dunbar, ed. Laing, II. p. 51; *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 133; Dunbar, Scot. Text Soc. II. p. 305, among "Poems Attributed to Dunbar."

## 3. As I fared in a frith.

Ms. Harl. 1704, *sæc.* xv. Ed. Appendix A, No. VII.

## 4. As I fared thorow a forest free.

Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* xvi, first half. Edd. Flügel, *Anglia*, xxvi. p. 207; Dyboski, *Ball. MS.* 354, p. 88.

## 5. As I me lend to a lend.

Ms. Sloane 2593, c. 1450. Edd. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Club, p. 96; Fehr, Herrig's *Archiv*, cvii. p. 50 (cf. Padelford, *ibid.*, cxix. p. 427, No. 33 a).

As I me walked in on mornynge. Cf. 9 b.

## 6. As I stod in a ryalle haulle.

Ms. Porkington 10, c. 1460. Ed. Halliwell, *Early Engl. Misc.* p. 62.

## 7. As I walkyd apoñ a day.

Ms. Cambr. Ff. 1. 6, *sæc.* xv. Edd. Halliwell, *Nugæ Poet.* p. 64; *Polit. Relig. and Love Poems*, p. 244.—Ms. Hawkins (cf. Phillipps sub. cat. 1895, p. 67; Brydges, *Censura Literaria*, Ed. 1815, I. pp. 136-137). Ed. Brydges, *ibid.*, x. p. 150.—Ms. Addit. 11,307, f. 121 (transcript by Haslewood, evidently from MS. Hawkins). Unprinted.—Ms. Sloane 747, *sæc.* xv, end, f. 95; beg., "As y can walke vpon a day." Unprinted.

As I walked here by west. Cf. 8 (Balliol version).

## 8. As I wandrede her bi weste.

Ms. Vernon, c. 1370. Edd. Varnhagen, *Anglia*, vii. p. 313; *Minor Poems Vernon MS.* ii. p. 696; Patterson, *M. Engl. Pen. Lyric*, p. 54.—Ms. Addit. 22,283 (Simeon), c. 1380-1400. Collated with Vernon, Varnhagen, *l. c.*—Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* xvi, first half; beg., "As I walked here by west." Edd. Flügel, *Anglia*, xxvi. p. 160; Dyboski, *Ball. MS.* 354, p. 54.

## 9. As I went in a mery mornynge.

a. Ms. Bodl. Engl. Poet. e. 1, *sæc.* xv, second half. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Percy Soc. p. 57; Flügel, *Anglia*, xxvi. p. 192; Patterson, *M. Engl. Pen. Lyric*, p. 102.

b. Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* xvi, first half; beg., "As I me walked in on mornynge." Ed. Flügel, *ibid.*, p. 191; Dyboski, *Ball. MS.* 354, p. 3; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 150.

c. Ms. Bodl. Engl. Poet. e. 1; beg., "As I went me fore to solase." Ed. Wright, *ibid.*, p. 74; Flügel, *ibid.*, p. 193; Patterson, *ibid.*, p. 100.

As I went me fore to solase. Cf. 9 c.

As I went one my playing. Cf. 10 b.

As y can walke vpon a day. Cf. 7 (Sloane version).

## 10. As y gan wandre in my walkinge.

a. Ms. Lambeth 853, c. 1430. Ed. *Hymns to V. and C.* p. 83.

b. Ms. Porkington 10, *sæc.* xv, second half; beg., "As I went one my playing." Ed. Halliwell, *Early Engl. Misc.* p. 9.

## 11. At a sarmoun þer I seet.

Ms. Vernon, c. 1370. Ed. *Minor Poems Vernon MS.* ii. p. 476.—Ms. Addit. 22,283 (Simeon), c. 1380-1400, f. 90 b. Unprinted.

## 12. Bi a forest as y gan walke.

Ms. Lambeth 853, c. 1430. Ed. *Hymns to V. and C.* p. 95.—Ms. Porkington 10, *sæc.* xv, second half, f. 203. Unprinted.—Ms. Addit. 31,042, *sæc.* xv, f. 122 b; beg., "By one foreste als I gan walke." Unprinted.

## 13. Bi a wey wandryng as I went.

a. Ms. Vernon, c. 1370. Edd. Varnhagen, *Anglia*, vii. p. 306; *Minor Poems Vernon MS.* ii. p. 688.—Ms. Addit. 22,283 (Simeon), c. 1380-1400. Collated with Vernon, Varnhagen, *l. c.*—Ms. Ashmole 343, *sæc.* xv, beg., f. 169. Unprinted.<sup>1</sup>—Ms. Sloane 2593, c. 1450. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Club, p. 56; Fehr, *Herrig's Archiv*, cix. p. 59 (cf. Padelford, *ibid.*, cxix. p. 429, No. XLII).—Ms. Cott. Calig. A. ii. *sæc.* xv. Ed. Halliwell, *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, p. 225.—Princeton Univ. MS. Garrett, *sæc.* xv, first half. Ed. Root, *Engl. Stud.* xli. p. 374.—Ms. Trin. Coll. Cambr. O. 9. 38 (James's No. 1450), *sæc.* xv. f. 25 b. Unprinted.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown.



b. *The Abbey Walk*; beg., "Allone as I went vp and down." Henryson, Scot. Text Soc. III. pp. 126 ff.

14. Bi a wode as I gon ryde.

a. Ms. Vernon, c. 1370. Ed. *Minor Poems Vernon MS.* II. p. 727.—Ms. Addit. 22,283 (Simeon), c. 1380-1400. Unprinted. (Noted by Varnhagen, *Anglia*, VII. p. 281, No. 24.)

b. Ms. Cott. Calig. A. II. sæc. xv; beg., "By a wylde wodes syde." Ed. Halliwell, *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, p. 228.—Princeton Univ. MS. Garrett, sæc. xv, first half; beg., "Be a wild wodis side." Ed. Root, *Engl. Stud.* XLI. p. 376.

15. Bi west, vnder a wylde wode-syde.

Ms. Vernon, c. 1370. Edd. Varnhagen, *Anglia*, VII. p. 282; *Minor Poems Vernon MS.* II. p. 658; collated with Addit. 22,283, Furnivall, *Early Engl. Poems*, p. 118.—Ms. Addit. 22,283 (Simeon), c. 1380-1400. Edd. Furnivall, *l. c.*; collated with Vernon, Varnhagen, *l. c.*—Ms. Addit. 31,042, sæc. xv. f. 123 b. Unprinted.

By a fforest as I gan ryde. Cf. 16 b.

16. By a forest syde, walkyng as I went.

a. Ms. Douce 322, sæc. xv. Ed. *Twenty-six Poems*, p. 143.—Ms. Harl. 1706, sæc. xv. f. 16. Unprinted.—Ms. Roy. 18. A. X. sæc. xv. f. 119 b. Unprinted.—Ms. Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 21 (James's No. 601), sæc. xv. f. 34. Unprinted.—Ms. Trin. Coll. Cambr. O. 9. 38 (James's No. 1450), sæc. xv. f. 24. Unprinted.—Ms. Bodl. 596, sæc. xv. f. 21 b. Unprinted.

b. Ms. Stonyhurst 23 (cited as Ms. 26, *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* II. App. p. 145), sæc. xv (ascribed to xiv, end, or xv, beg., in the modern index); f. 61 b; beg., "By a fforest as I gan ryde." Unprinted.

c. Ms. Harl. 2380, sæc. xvi. f. 72 b; beg., "Thurght a forest als I went." Unprinted.<sup>1</sup>

By (be) a wylde wodes syde. Cf. 14 b (Cott. and Garrett versions).

By one foreste als I gan walke. Cf. 12 (Addit. version).  
Doun be ane rever as I red. Cf. 2 b.

Evere more where so euer I be, etc. (burden prefixed to 9 c).

17. Furth throw ane forrest as I fure.

Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Ed. *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 118.

<sup>1</sup>Mss. Harl., Royal, and Trin. Coll. Cambr. were pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown; for a transcript of MS. Stonyhurst, with notes on the MS., I am indebted to the kindness of Father William Bodkin, S. J., Rector of Stonyhurst College.

18. Furth throcht yone finest [*sic*].

Line 13 of poem beg., "Wa is the man that wantis." Registers, Charter Room, City of Aberdeen. Verses inserted apparently by Walter Cullen (b. 1526). Ed. *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, Aberdeen, 1841-1853, II. (1842), p. xxvii, n. 1; cf. pp. xxii, xxix. Colophon: "*Finis quod* Nicolsoun."—The first twelve lines are apparently intended as a kind of text for the adventure-poem; cf. ll. 11-12: "Wo is the man that . . . hes na gold nor geir to spend," with the poem proper, ll. 13-14: "Quhat wantis thow . . . gold or geir to the ending day?"

## 19. I herd a playnt of grete pyte.

Ms. Harl. 5396, *sæc.* xv. Ed. *Rel. Ant.* I. p. 77.

## 20. I see a rybaun ryche and newe.

Ms. Cott. Calig. A. II. *sæc.* xv. Ed. Halliwell, *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, p. 222.—Ms. Bannatyne, 1568; beg., "I saw ane rob riche of hew." Ed. *Bann. MS. Hunt. Club*, p. 225.

I saw ane rob riche of hew. Cf. 20 (Bann. version).

## 21. In a chambre as I stode.

Ms. Rawl. poet. 36, *sæc.* xv, second half. Ed. Appendix A, No. VIII.

## 22. In a chirche, þer I con knel.

a. Ms. Vernon, c. 1370. Edd. Varnhagen, *Anglia*, VII. p. 287; *Minor Poems Vernon MS.* II. p. 664.—Ms. Addit. 22,283 (Simeon), c. 1380-1400. Ed. Furnivall, *Early Engl. Poems*, p. 124; collated with Vernon, Varnhagen, *l. c.*

b. Ms. Advoc. Libr. Edinb. Jac. v. 7. 27, *sæc.* xv; beg., "In a kyrke as [I] can knele." Ed. Turnbull, *Visions of Tundale*, p. 161.

In a kyrke as [I] can knele. Cf. 22 b.

## 23. In a moruenyng of Maye whenne medowes salle spryng.

Ms. Addit. 31,042, *sæc.* xv. Ed. Gollancz, in *An Engl. Misc. Presented to Dr. Furnivall*, Oxford, 1901, p. 112, as *The Quatrefoil of Love*.—Ms. Bodl. Add. A. 106, *sæc.* xv (later than Addit. 31,042). Collated with Addit. 31,042, Gollancz, *l. c.*—Early print, apparently from a slightly variant copy, by Wynkyn de Worde, n. d. (c. 1501-1535), with the title, *The iiii leues of the true-loue*. Formerly in the Heber and Corser Libraries; now in the Huth Library (cf. Hazlitt, *Handbk. to Pop. Poet. and Dram. Lit.*, 1867, p. 349; *The Huth Libr. Catal. of Printed Bks. MSS. etc.*, 1880, II. pp. 538 f.; Duff, etc., *Hand Lists of Engl. Printers*, 1501-1556. Pt. I. Wynkyn de Worde, etc., 1895, p. 22. Summary and extracts given by Collier, *Bibl. and Crit. Account of Rarest Bks.*, 1865, I. p. 293.

## 24. In a noon tijd of a somers day.

Ms. Lambeth 853, c. 1430. Ed. *Hymns to V and C.* p. 91.—Ms. Trin. Coll. Cambr. O. 9. 38 (James's No. 1450), *sæc.* xv. f. 22; beg., "Yn

- a noone hete of somer day." Unprinted.<sup>1</sup>—Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* xvi, first half; beg., "In a tyme of a somers day." Edd. Flügel, *Anglia*, xxvi. p. 168; Dyboski, *Ball. MS. 354*, p. 80; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 195.
25. In a semely someres tyde.  
Ms. Addit. 32,578, *sæc.* xv, first half. Ed. Hulme, *M. Engl. Harrowing of Hell*, E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. C. 1907, p. xxx.  
In a tyme of a somers day. Cf. 24 (Balliol version).
26. In blossemed buske I bode boote.  
Ms. Digby 102, *sæc.* xv, first half; this poem c. 1400. Ed. *Twenty-six Poems*, p. 6.
27. In tyl ane garth, wndir ane reid rosier.  
Henryson, Scot. Text Soc. III. pp. 106 ff. Versions B, C, D beg., "Wythin a garth," etc.  
In what estate so euer I be, etc. (burden prefixed to D 9 a, b).
28. Late whane Aurora of Tytane toke leve.  
Lydgate. Unprinted. (To appear in Lydgate, Ed. MacCracken, II. E. E. T. S., Extra Ser.; cf. I. p. xvii, No. 46).—Variant of ll. 1-12 in the ms. beg., "Whane Aurora toke of Tytan hir leve."
29. Lettres of gold writtin I fand.  
Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Ed. *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 138. Colophon: "*Finis quod* Wa[lter] Broun."
- Man, beware and wyse in dede (burden prefixed to D 35).
30. On a dere day, by a dale so depe.  
Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* xvi, first half. Edd. Flügel, *Anglia*, xxvi. p. 180; Dyboski, *Ball. MS. 354*, p. 84.
31. Quhen fair flora, þe goddas of al flowris.  
Henryson, Scot. Text Soc. III. pp. 114 ff.
32. Quhen Phebus in the ranie cloude.  
Ms. Maitland, c. 1570-1590. Ed. Pinkerton, *Anc. Scot. Poems*, p. 192.  
Thorow a forest þat was so longe. Cf. 35 (Balliol version).  
Thurght a forest als I went. Cf. 16 c.
33. Throwe a towne as y com ryde.  
Ms. Trin. Coll. Cambr. O. 9. 38 (James's No. 1450), *sæc.* xv. Ed. Appendix A, No. ix.

<sup>1</sup>Pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown.

34. Toward Aurora in the monyeth of decembre.

Lydgate. Unprinted. (To appear in Lydgate, Ed. MacCracken, II. E. E. T. S., Extra Ser.; cf. I. p. xxxi, No. 160).

35. Under a forest that was so long.

Ms. Bodl. Engl. Poet. e. 1. *sæc.* xv, second half. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Percy Soc. p. 28; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 193.—Ms. Addit. 25,478, *sæc.* XIX, f. 50 (a transcript evidently from Ms. Bodl.). Unprinted.—Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* XVI, first half; beg., "Thorow a forest þat was so longe." Ed. Flügel, *Anglia*, XXVI. p. 267; Dyboski, *Ball. MS. 354*, p. 47.

Wa is the man that wantis (line 1 of D 18).

36. Walking allone among thir levis grene.

Ms. Bannatyne, 1568. Ed. *Bann. MS.* Hunt. Club, p. 145.

37. Whan that phebus beemes schynyng as golde.

Ms. Cott. Cleop. C. iv. *sæc.* xv. Ed. Appendix A, No. x.

Whane Aurora toke of Tytan hir leve. Cf. 28 (variant copy of ll. 1-12).

Wythin a garth, vnder a rede rosere. Cf. 27 (Versions B, C, D).

Yn a noone hete of somer day. Cf. 24 (Trin. Coll. Cambr. version).

## M (MISCELLANEOUS)

1. Als I me sat my self allon.

Ms. Egerton 1624, c. 1470 (?). Ed. Furnivall, *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, etc., E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. VIII, 1869, p. 86.

2. Als y yod on ay Mounday.

a. Ms. Cott. Jul. A. v. *sæc.* XIV. Edd. Ritson, *Anc. Songs*, p. 35; Finlay, *Scottish Ballads*, II. p. 168; *Retrospective Review*, Second Series, II. p. 326; Wright, *Chron. of Pierre de Langtoft* (Rolls Series), II. p. 452; Child, *Ballads*, No. 38, Appendix (extract).

b. Ballad, *The Wee Wee Man*. Ed. Child, *Ballads*, No. 38; beg., "As I was wa'king all alone (by my lane, mine alone), / Between a water and a wa," Versions A, B, E, F; Versions C, D, and G begin respectively: "'Twas down by Carterhaugh, father," and "As I gaed out to tak a walk (tak the air)."—Child points out the relation existing between the early poem and the ballad, but finds "no reason for deriving the ballad from the poem."

3. As I came by a grene forest syde.

Contained in the fragment, formerly Douce Fragm. 94 b, but now Rawlinson 4to 598 (10), of Wynkyn de Worde's *Christmasse*



- Carolles*, 1521. Edd. Haslewood, *Lit. Researches into Hist. of Bk. of St. Alban's*, London, 1810, p. 58; Flügel, *Anglia*, XII. p. 587 and XXVI. p. 194; Flügel, *Neuengl. Leseb.* p. 151; Padelford, *XVI. Cent. Lyrics*, p. 75; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 245; Dyboski, *Ball. MS. 354*, p. 186; Rickert, *Carols*, p. 139.—Ms. Ball. 354, sæc. xvi, first half; beg., "As I walked by a fforest side." Edd. Flügel, *Anglia*, XXVI. p. 194; Padelford, *ibid.*, p. 138; Dyboski, *ibid.*, p. 103.
4. As I gan wandre in on evynyng.  
Ms. Ball. 354, sæc. xvi, first half. Ed. Flügel, *Anglia*, XXVI. p. 169; Dyboski, *Ball. MS. 354*, p. 81.
5. As I me walked ouer feldis wide.  
Ms. Lansdowne 762; this poem c. 1500. Ed. Skeat, *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 30, 1867, p. 69.
6. As I stode yn a parke streyght vpe by a tree.  
Ms. Rawl. C. 813, c. 1520-1540. Ed. Padelford, *Anglia*, XXXI. p. 350.  
—Ms. Cott. Jul. A. v, sæc. xvi, probably second half, f. 131 b (old no. 126 b). Unprinted.—Early Print, Bodleian Library, *Wyl bucke his Testament*. Imprinted at London by Wyllam [sic] Copland (fl. 1556-1569) n. d. Reprinted by Haslewood, 1827, private circ.; Halliwell, *Lit. of XVI. and XVII. Cent. Illustrated*, private circ., London, 1851, p. 51. Copland's print presents the verse testament as preface to a prose treatise under the title, *To make .iii. courses of a Bucke, or of a Doo*; in a transitional strophe not found in the ms. copies, the dying buck directs the poet to make in his memory a feast "Of Will buckes sonne, and that of cowrses thre." Colophon of prose treatise: "*Finis. quod. Iohn Lacy.*"
7. As I walked alone,/and mused on thynges.  
*Of Abbayes*, Crowley's *Epigrammes*, 1550. Ed. Cowper, *Select Works of Robert Crowley*, E. E. T. S., Extra Ser. xv, 1872, p. 7.  
As I walked by a fforest side. Cf. 3 (Balliol version).
8. As I walked of late by one wood side.  
Percy Folio MS. c. 1650. Ed. Percy, *Reliques*, first edition, 1765, II. Bk. 3, No. 1, p. 259 (270); *Percy Folio MS.* II. p. 174 (183).  
As I was wa'king all alone/Between a water and a wa.  
Cf. 2 b.
9. As I was walking all alane,/I heard twa corbies making a mane.  
Ballad, *The Twa Corbies*. Ed. Child, *Ballads*, No. 26.
10. As I went on ȝol day.  
Ms. Sloane 2593, c. 1450. Edd. Wright, *Songs and Carols*, 1836, no. XX; Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Club, p. 100; Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 220.



11. Be a wildernes/As I did passe.

Ms. Corporation of Tenterden, oldest Record Book; this entry apparently c. 1535-1541. Ed. Appendix A, No. XI. (Padelford includes what is apparently a reference to this secular lament in a list of religious laments, XVI. *Cent. Lyrics*, p. xlii, note.)

12. Bi a forrest as I gane fare.

a. Ms. Porkington 10, c. 1460. Ed. Halliwell, *Early Engl. Misc.* p. 43.

b. Ms. Cambr. Ff. 5, 48, *sæc.* xv; beg., "Ffer in frithe as I can fare." Ed. Hartshorne, *Ancient Metr. Tales*, London, 1829, p. 165.

13. By a banke as I ley/musyng in my mynd/on thyngs that were past.

Wynkyn de Worde's *Song Booke*, 1530. Edd. Flügel, *Anglia*, XII. p. 597; *Neuengl. Leseb.* p. 161; Imelmann, *Shak. Jb.* XXXIX. p. 136. (Cf. an adaptation of this song and of A 7 in honour of James I., in Ravenscroft's *Deuteromelia*, 1609, beg., "By a banke as I lay / musing on a thing that was past and gone, hey how." Edd. Chapell, *Old Engl. Pop. Music*, I. p. 49; Rimbault, *Little Book*, p. 55.

14. Erly in a sommeristide.

Ms. Lambeth 306; this poem c. 1465. Ed. *Polit. Relig. and Love Poems*, p. 1.

Ffer in frithe as I can fare. Cf. 12 b.

15. I herde a carpyng of a clerk.

Ms. Sloane 2593, c. 1450. Edd. Ritson, *Anc. Songs*, p. 71; Wright, *Songs and Carols*, 1836, No. x; Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Warton Club, p. 42; Child, *Ballads*, No. 115.

16. In a ffresshe mornyng among the flowrys.

Ms. Harl. 2252; this poem not before 1536. Edd. Furnivall and Morfill, *Ballads from MSS.* Ballad Soc. London and Hertford, 1868-1873, I. p. 402 (409); Flügel, *Neuengl. Leseb.* p. 165.

17. In a glorius garden grene.

Ms. Addit. 5465, c. 1500. Edd. Rimbault, *Little Book*, No. 2, p. 24; Furnivall, *Captain Cox*, p. clix; Flügel, *Neuengl. Leseb.* p. 159.

18. In a mornyng of May, as I lay on slepyng.

Ms. Cambr. Ff. 5, 48, *sæc.* xv. Ed. Halliwell, *Nugæ Poet.* p. 37.

19. In december, when the dayes draw to be short.

Ms. Harl. 372, f. 114; this poem, copied evidently from some other MS., dates c. 1550. Unprinted (?).—Percy's *Reliques*, first edition, 1765, II. Bk. 2, No. 3, p. 112 (129), where the poem is said to be "preserved in the Peps collection, British Museum, and Strype's Mem. of Cranmer."

20. [In Ma]y whan euery herte is lyghte/[And f]ayre flourys  
doth sprede *and* springe.<sup>1</sup>

Ms. Harl. 3952, *sæc.* xv; this fragment probably c. 1483. Ed.  
Appendix A, No. xii.

Kyrie, so kyrie, Jankyn syngyt merie, etc. (burden prefixed  
to M 10).

21. Musing allone this hinder nicht.

Dunbar, Scot. Text Soc. II. p. 92.

Robyn lyȝth in grene wode bowndyn (burden prefixed to  
M 15).

This day day dawes (burden prefixed to M 17).

22. Thorow out a palys as I gan passe.

Ms. Cambr. Hh. 4. 12, *sæc.* xv, second half; this poem c. 1441.  
Ed. Hardwick, *Antiquarian Communications*, Cambr. Antiq. Soc.  
Cambridge, 1859, I. p. 177.—Ms. Ball. 354, *sæc.* xvi, first half. Edd.  
Wright, *Polit. Poems and Songs* (Rolls Series), London, 1859-1861,  
II. p. 205; Flügel, *Anglia*, xxvi. p. 177; Dyboski, *Ball. MS. 354*,  
p. 95.

23. When that Aurora illumynath lyȝht.

Ms. Addit. 18,752, *sæc.* xiv-xvi; this poem, *sæc.* xvi, before 1536.  
Ed. Reed, *Anglia*, xxxiii. p. 346.

24. When the wyntar wynddys ar vanished away.

Ms. Ashmole 48, *sæc.* xvi. middle. Ed. Wright, *Songs and Ball.*  
Roxb. Club, p. 145. Colophon: "*Finis, quod Johan Walles.*"

<sup>1</sup> Pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown.

## APPENDIX C

### SUPPLEMENTARY REGISTER OF OTHER PIECES CITED IN THE DISCUSSION

[The pieces included are either Middle English poems comparable in certain features to the *chansons d'aventure*, or *chansons d'aventure* proper, dating later than 1550. The list is not exhaustive, but merely illustrative.]

A babe is born, to blys vs brynge/I hard a mayd lulley & synge (Dyboski, <i>Ball. MS.</i> 354, p. 21) . . . . .	73n
[a] daye of may ffor my solas . . . . .	34n
A Robyn/joly Robyn . . . . .	57n
After mydnyght, when dremes dothe fawll . . . . .	77n
All after pleasures as I rid one day . . . . .	98
All in a garden green . . . . .	57n
A-lone walkyng/and oft musing (Herrig's <i>Archiv</i> , cvii. p. 59, where Fehr prints "I loue walkyng," etc.) . . . . .	92n
Alone walking, In thought pleyning . . . . .	41n
Als j me wente þis Endres daye ( <i>Thomas of Erceldoune</i> ) . . . . .	96-97
Ane fare sweit may of mony one . . . . .	61n
As I heard tell this other yeere ( <i>John the Reeve</i> , l. 7) . . . . .	25n
As I me walked hard by a riueers side hey no no . . . . .	58n
As I walked forth in a morninge tyde ( <i>Shirburn Ballads</i> , p. 260) . . . . .	98-99
As I went by an Hospital ( <i>Bagford Ballads</i> , I. p. 24) . . . . .	49n
As I went up a woodland walk . . . . .	99
As thro' a gay wood I happened to pass ( <i>Pilgrim's Gar-     land</i> , p. 4) . . . . .	49n
But late in place A pretye lasse . . . . .	48n
By a bancke as I lay/musing on a thing that was past and gone, hey how . . . . .	Appendix B, under M 13
Come over the woodes fair and green . . . . .	57n, 61n, 65n

- Downe Plumton Parke as I did passe (*Shirburn Ballads*,  
p. 20; refrain) . . . . . 98-99
- For þi self, man, þou may see ("How judicare come in  
crede") . . . . . 82n
- Here in this Song you may behold and see (preface to  
ballad, *Roxburghe Ballads*, II. p. 329) . . . . . 44n
- Hey, troly loly lo, maid, whither go you? . . . 57n, 61n, 65n
- I hard a maydyn wepe/ffor here sonnys passyon . . . 71n
- I heard 'a mess of merry shepherds sing . . . . . 73n
- I loue walkyng/and oft musyng (cf. "A-lone walkyng/  
and oft musing," above).
- I saw a fayr maydyn syttyn and synge . . . . . 73n
- I saw a swete semly syght (Rickert, *Carols*, p. 59) . . 24, 73n
- I saw my lady weep(ing) . . . . . 72n
- In a tabernacle of a tour . . . . . 24, 71n
- In the merry moneth of May . . . . . 98
- Late in the morning, as I abroad was walking (*Roxburghe  
Ballads*, II. p. 329) . . . . . 44n
- Man, loke thou have this gys (Wright, *Songs and Carols*,  
Warton Club, p. 1) . . . . . 82n
- My feerful dreame neuyr forgete can I . . . . . 71n
- My self walkyng all allone (*Rel. Ant.* I. p. 26) . . . 24, 41n
- Not long agoe with bow in hande (poem on the "whyte") . 63n
- On a faire morning, as I came by the way . . . . . 59n
- So blessid a sight it was to see (Dyboski, *Ball MS.* 354,  
p. 23) . . . . . 73n
- Sodenly A-frayd, halfe wakyng, halfe slepyng (line 1 of  
"Who cannot wepe,") . . . . . 71n
- There was a maid this other day (*Mother Watkin's Ale*) . 49n
- To lodge yt was my lucke of late (line 1 of song with re-  
frain, "Downe Plumton Parke") . . . . . 98-99
- To see the maydyn wepe her sonnes passion (Dyboski, *Ball.  
MS.* 354, p. 41) . . . . . 72n
- There is a Child born of our blessed Virgin/I heard a  
Maid lullaby to sing (Sylvester, *Christmas Carols*,  
p. 41) . . . . . 73n
- Toward the ende of frosty January . . . . . 82n
- This endurs nyght/I sawe a syght . . . . . 26n, 73n

þis endres nyght About mydayght [ <i>sic</i> ] . . . . .	26n, 73n
This hundir ȝeir I hard be tald ( <i>The Bludy Serk</i> ) . . . . .	25n
Thys indrys day befel a stryfe . . . . .	52n
Undir a park ful prudently pyght . . . . .	33n, 73n
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# Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo

## A Dissertation

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE IN PARTIAL  
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY  
MARY HAMILTON SWINDLER

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

*The following abbreviations have been used:*

- A. J. A.—American Journal of Archæology.  
A. J. P.—American Journal of Philology.  
Arch. Anz.—Archäologischer Anzeiger.  
Arch. f. Rel.—Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.  
Ath. Mitth.—Athenische Mittheilungen.  
B. C. H.—Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.  
B. P. W.—Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift.  
B. S. A.—Annual of the British School at Athens.  
C. B.—Collitz-Bechtel, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inscripfen.  
C. I. G.—Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.  
C. R.—Classical Review.  
I. G.—Inscriptiones Græcæ.  
J. H. S.—Journal of Hellenic Studies.  
Mon. Ant.—Monumenti Antichi.  
M. T. and P. C.—Evans, Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult.  
P. W.—Pauly-Wissowa.  
Phil.—Philologus.  
Rh. M.—Rheinisches Museum.



## I. INTRODUCTION.

Recent excavations in Crete have placed in the forefront of Hellenic study the problem of determining what influences survived from the old Aegean religion in Hellenic worship. This debt which Greece owed to Crete is one that the ancients themselves recognized. Although the writers who mention this point did not have as an aid the monumental evidence which we possess, their testimony proves that myths and traditions survived in their time which recalled Cretan influence in religion no less than in institutions, laws, and art. Diodorus Siculus records the boast of the Cretans that most of the gods worshipped among men went from Crete to other lands, citing in particular, Zeus, Demeter, Aphrodite, Artemis and Apollo<sup>1</sup>; he notes also the claim that the mysteries had their origin among them and were communicated to Greece through their agency.<sup>2</sup> The Cretans undoubtedly overstated the case, even where the Greek gods are concerned. It is, however, undeniable that a certain element of truth lurks behind many of these traditions.

In the first place, it can be shown that Crete contributed to Greece the worship of certain deities and the use of certain rites

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. V, 64, 2 καὶ τῶν θεῶν δὲ τοὺς πλείστον μυθολογοῦσι [οἱ τὴν Κρήτην κατοικοῦντες] παρ' ἐαυτοῖς γενέσθαι τοὺς διὰ τὰς κοινὰς εὐεργεσίας τυχόντας ἀθανάτων τιμῶν. V, 77, 4. τῶν γὰρ θεῶν φασὶ τοὺς πλείστον ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ὀρμηθέντας ἐπιέναι πολλὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης, εὐεργετοῦντας τὰ γένη τῶν ἀνθρώπων. . . . Διήμηναν . . . ὁμοίως δ' Ἀφροδίτην . . . ὡσαύτως δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἀπόλλωνα πλείστον χρόνον φανῆναι περὶ Δῆλον καὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Δελφοῦς, τὴν δ' Ἀρτέμιον περὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον καὶ τὸν Πόντον, ἐτι δὲ τὴν Περσίδα καὶ τὴν Κρήτην. διόπερ ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ἡ πράξις τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις συντελεσθεισῶν τὸν μὲν Δῆλον καὶ Λύκιον καὶ Πύθιον ὀνομάζεσθαι, τὴν δ' Ἐφεσίαν καὶ Κρησίαν ἐτι δὲ Ταυροπόλον καὶ Περσίαν, ἀμφοτέρων ἐν Κρήτῃ γεγεννημένων.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. V, 77, 3 τὰς δὲ τιμὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ τὰς περὶ τὰ μυστήρια τελετὰς ἐκ Κρήτης εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους παραδεδοσθαι, λέγοντες, τοῦτο φέρουσιν, ὡς οἰονται μέγιστον τεκμήριον τὴν τε γὰρ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐν Ἐλευσίνι γινομένην τελετὴν, . . . καὶ τὴν ἐν θρόκῃ . . . μυστικῶς παραδίδοσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Κρήτην ἐν Κνωσὶ νόμιμον ἐξ ἀρχαίων εἶναι φανερώς τὰς τελετὰς ταύτας πᾶσι παραδίδοσθαι, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ παραδιδόμενα, παρ' αὐτοῖς μηδὲνα κρύπτειν τῶν βουλομένων τὰ τοιαῦτα γινώσκειν. Strabo, 481 ff.

which seem to have been Cretan in character or to have reached their full development in Crete. Closely associated with the ritual and worship of other deities and sometimes inextricably woven with them, are elements which point to Egypt or Phrygia and reveal Crete as the medium through which Southern and Eastern influence was passed on to Greece. In this connection, it may be said that Crete doubtless received and transmitted elements from the Hittites in Asia Minor, but the full extent of this influence cannot as yet be determined.<sup>3</sup> Crete was thus the "stepping stone" to Greece, from Egypt and the mainland, for religion as well as for civilisation in general. In yet another sense Crete may be regarded as the cradle of Greek religion, in that Greece grafted many Greek gods and rites on the Aegean religion. A noteworthy example of this practice is the god Zeus, whom the Northerners represented in their myth and ritual as born of the Cretan mother-goddess in her cave.<sup>4</sup>

However, in the handling of material concerned with primitive worship and religious rites, a certain care must be exercised not to attribute to one origin, elements which were common to many early peoples. For example, we must reckon with the view that goddess-worship was an aboriginal Aryan heritage and that many goddesses with fixed character may have accompanied the Hellenic migrations from the North. Crete, therefore, was not necessarily the home of the Hellenic earth-goddesses of later times. On the other hand, it is very probable that there is much that is Cretan in the religion of later times to which we cannot definitely give the name Cretan. In the renaissance of civilisation which resulted after the migra-

<sup>3</sup> D. G. Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*, 1909, 30, 36, 68, 101; Aly, *Phil.* 1012, 462, warns that Phrygian evidence in Crete must be used circum-spectly.

<sup>4</sup> The reconciliation of the older stratum of religion with the Olympic is mirrored in many myths:

1. Birth of Zeus in Crete.
2. Contest between Titans and Olympians.
3. Apollo's complaint of Chthonian powers (*Eur., I. T.* 1270).
4. *Ἰερὸς γάμος* of Zeus and Hera (*Diod. Sic.* V, 72).



tions, from the contact of aboriginals with alien peoples, much that was latent and pre-Hellenic came to the surface and determined in no small measure the religious and political ideas of Greece.<sup>5</sup>

It must further be borne in mind that by Cretan elements we understand those Minoan and Mycenaean cults and ritualistic accompaniments of cult which had their origin or development among the Aegean peoples. These peoples settled in Crete and on the mainland before the coming of the Greeks; we shall have occasion later to notice who they were.

The greatest contribution from Crete to Greece was the worship of the great mother-goddess. Whether we are inclined to regard her, with Evans, as the aboriginal deity worshipped in the Aegean and all later Hellenic goddesses as mere variant forms of her, or hold with Farnell that she was "but the prototype of the Hellenic Mother of the Gods,"<sup>6</sup> her influence on the cults of Greece must be considered vital in its significance. Her worship seems to have been orgiastic in character and concerned with the mysteries of life and death. The religion of Orpheus appears to have been another important contribution from Crete. Orpheus is said to have learned his ritual in Egypt<sup>7</sup> and unquestionably his followers were open to Egyptian influence from an early date and might borrow elements from Egypt if they chose.<sup>8</sup> The Orphic Mysteries however, probably reached their full development in Crete in connection with the orgiastic worship of the mother-goddess and her son.<sup>9</sup> Thence they passed to Greece by the island route. They contained certain elements essentially Cretan, for example, the *Omophagia*, or feast of raw flesh, through which communion with the deity was brought about. It has also been

<sup>5</sup> Hogarth, *op. c.*, 39.

<sup>6</sup> Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III (1907), 297. Cf. Radet, *Cybêbê*, Bordeaux, 1909, on the identification of these earth-goddesses.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. Sic. IV, 25.

<sup>8</sup> Farnell, *op. c.*, V (1909), 171.

<sup>9</sup> Farnell, *op. c.*, V (1909), 117; Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*, 1908, 459, 567.

pointed out that Demeter and her Mystic Marriage probably came from Crete.<sup>10</sup>

Early intercourse between Phrygia and Crete brought from Asia Minor in prehistoric, pre-Hellenic times the worship of the Thrako-Phrygian Dionysos, and this fact probably accounts for the prominent position of the "Son" beside the Earth-Mother.<sup>11</sup> The legend and rites of Zagreus (the mystery form of Dionysos) were considered essentially Cretan,<sup>12</sup> but both Phrygian and Egyptian influence may be traced in his cult. In many respects Zagreus recalls Osiris; like him he is torn limb from limb, his heart is hid in the mystic chest and he is later brought to life again. That Osiris and Isis came into Crete and Attica in the prehistoric era and were assimilated with Dionysos and Demeter is the plausible conclusion of an investigation by Foucart.<sup>13</sup> Excavations at Eleusis<sup>14</sup> appear to strengthen the theory that the Eleusinia were an Egyptian importation reaching Greece through Crete, the half-way station.

Mention has already been made of the grafting of the worship of Zeus on that of the Minoan earth-goddess. Another Olympian who early appropriated Cretan cults and elements to his worship, was Apollo. Research in Crete has not yet shown how the change from Minoan to Hellenic civilisation affected the cults of the island, or how the Apolline worship was grafted on that of the Minoan divinities. Until the Cretan script has been deciphered, our knowledge of Minoan religion must necessarily be incomplete. In the present state of our evidence, absolute proof of a Cretan origin for certain of these elements cannot always be given, but the trend of the evidence can be indicated. The various cults and ritualistic elements

<sup>10</sup> Harrison, *op. c.*, 564, *Homeric Hymn ad Cer.* 123; *Odys.* V, 125; Hes., *Theog.* 969; Theocr., *Id.* III, 50.

<sup>11</sup> Farnell, *op. c.*, V, 116-17.

<sup>12</sup> Diod. Sic. V, 75, 4.

<sup>13</sup> P. Foucart, *Le Culte de Dionysos en Attique*, Mém. Acad. des Inscr. XXXVII (1904); Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, 1911, 77 (Tr.).

<sup>14</sup> *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* (1898), 108, 120, Pl. VI

taken over from Crete and fused into the worship of Apollo may, however, be traced with some assurance. The purpose of this investigation is to indicate the important part played by Crete in the early development of the worship of Apollo—a god whose name is woven into a great number of Cretan myths and whose Cretan associations are more numerous than those of any other Olympian, Zeus excepted.

The origin of Apollo worship is still a mooted question and one that cannot well be solved according to any existing evidence. Diodorus mentions the fact that the Cretans claimed the god.<sup>15</sup> In Homer he bears the epithet *Λυκίηνον*<sup>16</sup> which was interpreted, "Lycian born." Modern scholars for the most part argue in favor of a Greek origin, inasmuch as he was common to all Greek stocks. Several authorities of note, however, oppose this view. Wilamowitz explains his cult and name as belonging to Asia Minor (Lycia).<sup>17</sup> He observes that in Homer, Apollo is throughout hostile to the Greeks, greatly as they honor him; that the name of his mother Leto, is connected with the Lycian "*lada*," 'woman,' and he himself is addressed as *Λητοῖδης*, following the Lycian custom of calling the children by the mother's name.<sup>18</sup> Apollo thus becomes a pre-Hellenic god of Asia Minor and the islands, whose acquaintance the Greeks made in Asia Minor, whom they adopted under his non-Greek name and whose cult they developed through centuries at Delphi. From Delphi, his worship was spread by the Dorians. Wilamowitz's theory is accepted by Nilsson, who remarks that the great religions came to Greece from without and that the religion of Apollo was no exception. He would derive the god ultimately from Babylon as a luni-solar divinity, making Asia Minor a stage in the journey to

<sup>15</sup> Diod. V, 77. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Hom., *Il.* IV, 101, 119.

<sup>17</sup> Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, 38 (1903), 575. and *Greek Historical Writing and Apollo*, Oxford, 1908; *Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen, Kultur der Gegenwart*, II, IV, 1, 33; Hommel, *Grundr. der Geogr. u. Gesch. der alten Orient*; M. P. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste von religiöser Bedeutung*, Leipzig, 1906, 104-5; *Arch. f. Rel.* (1911), 423; "*Die Älteste Gr. Zeitrechnung, Apollo u. der Orient.*"

<sup>18</sup> Hdt. I, 173. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1895, 94.

Greece. More recently, A. L. Frothingham<sup>19</sup> has stated that the origin of the cult was to be found in Crete, but it is difficult to understand from the passage in question where he would localize it. Starting with Wilamowitz's conclusion that Apollo had his origin in Lycia, Aly<sup>20</sup> develops the hypothesis that if Apollo was born in Lycia, he must have passed *via* Crete to Greece because of the proximity and early relations of the island with Greece. He concludes that Crete has nothing connected with Apollo which is really of great antiquity, but received its worship mainly from Delphi. The Eastern origin of the cult is thus left in great doubt, in his opinion. Eduard Meyer<sup>21</sup> takes issue with Wilamowitz on the foreign origin of the name Apollo and considers the god a Greek deity common to all stocks. Even in the cult-formulas of Homer he is one of the principal Greek gods; he is a tribal god of the Dorians who were least influenced by Asia Minor. So close, in fact, are relations between the Dorian race and Apollo, that K. O. Müller<sup>22</sup> declared him a god of the Dorians and gave the migrations of the Greek tribes before the Dorians no part in the spread of his worship. As evidence, the fact is cited that Arcadia, which was undisturbed by the Dorians, is practically lacking in independent Apollo cults. According to Farnell,<sup>23</sup> Apollo is 'Aryan' in origin, but his name is inexplicable. He came into Greece with invaders from the North. His cult may have emerged when the Greeks were in Thrace or may have belonged equally to Thracians and Greeks. According to Tomaschek's<sup>24</sup> theory, Thrace was his original home. This view was formerly accepted by Jane Harrison,<sup>25</sup> but has

<sup>19</sup> A. L. Frothingham, *A. J. A.* XV (1911), 349 ff., "*Medusa, Apollo and the Great Mother.*"

<sup>20</sup> Wolf Aly, *Der Kretische Apollonkult*, Leipzig, 1908.

<sup>21</sup> Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, Berlin, I<sup>2</sup>, 2 (1909), 639 ff.

<sup>22</sup> K. O. Müller, *Die Dorier*, 1830 (Tr.), I, 228. Against the view that Apollo was originally a Dorian god, cf. Wilamowitz, *Eur., Her.*<sup>2</sup> I, 265.

<sup>23</sup> Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 99 ff. (Apollo).

<sup>24</sup> Tomaschek, *Die Alten Thraker*, Wien, 1893, Sitzber. Phil. Hist. Kl.

<sup>25</sup> Harrison, *Proleg.* 1906, 463; cf. the same author in *Themis*, 1912, 436, "Tradition pointed on the one hand to the coming of Apollo from Crete, on the other from Delos."



apparently been abandoned by her in her latest discussion of the subject. Gilbert Murray<sup>26</sup> considers the god characteristically Northern, and although he has acquired many aboriginal characteristics, he remains "one of the two clearest gods of the Northerners." That the name of the god is Ionic, but that the original meaning of the name and the original character of the god are uncertain, is the conclusion reached by Gruppe.<sup>27</sup> Croiset emphasizes the difference between the Ionian religion of Apollo at Delos and the Dorian at Delphi, after stating that the religion of Apollo, whatever its origin, seems to have penetrated Greece from the North and East at once.<sup>28</sup> The different features of cult to be noted in the religion of the two centers has also been developed by Verrall.<sup>29</sup> Finally, one scholar, Schöne, has identified the god with Horus.<sup>30</sup>

The theories in regard to the name<sup>31</sup> of the god are as numerous as those concerned with his origin but none can be said to give us definite light on his original character.

An attempt to name the tribe in which the Apollo cult had its beginning can scarcely meet with success. The reasons for this are apparent. Although Apollo is a comparatively late comer into Greece, he stands out in Homer, almost in his full development, with a cosmopolitan character. He is essentially a migratory god,<sup>32</sup> which seems to be one source of his great popularity. While he sojourned in the various lands to which he was "invited," he took over into his cult the local gods and oracles, and acquired new epithets. He is at home in Dorian Pytho and Ionian Delos; he has his place in almost all of the oracles

<sup>26</sup> Gilbert Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, 1911, 88; for a later view, cf. *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, 1912, 69.

<sup>27</sup> O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie u. Religionsgeschichte*, II (1906), 1224.

<sup>28</sup> M. Croiset, *Histoire de la Litt. Grec.* I (1896), 60.

<sup>29</sup> A. W. Verrall, *J. H. S.* XIV (1894), 1-24, "The Hymn to Apollo."

<sup>30</sup> J. Schöne: *Gr. Personennamen als Religionsgesch. Quelle*, Düsseldorf, 1906.

<sup>31</sup> Enumerated by Gruppe, *op. c.*, II, 1224-5; cf. especially Usener, *Götternamen*, 304 ff., Ἄπο-πέλλος (vgl. Lat. *pellere*) > Ἄ(π)πέλλος > Ἀπέλλων, i. e. the 'Averter.'

<sup>32</sup> Cf. his ἀποδημία in Lycia, among the Hypoboreans, etc.



on the western and southern coast of Asia Minor, and is especially bound to Lycia. The islands know him and northern Greece in particular bears witness to his worship. It is this pandemic character of Apollo and this tendency to appropriate foreign elements to his cult which render difficult the problem of determining his original character. The origin of his cult and the earliest elements contributed to it must for this reason remain problematic. Leaving aside the much discussed question of his home and the problem whether he was a god of flocks<sup>23</sup> or of seafaring<sup>24</sup> when he made his appearance in Greece, we shall pass to the various Cretan cults which he fused into his worship, considering later the cathartic and musical elements.

<sup>23</sup> Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 123.

<sup>24</sup> Gruppe, *op. c.*, II, 1225.

## II. CULTS FROM CRETE.

### PYTHIOS.

It has been generally accepted that the Pythian cults in various parts of the Greek world had their origin in Delphi and that the Cretan worships belong to the prehistoric period of Hellenic migration.<sup>1</sup> If we adopt the view of Wilamowitz,<sup>2</sup> the Dorians must have transplanted the god to Crete immediately after their arrival in Delphi. The theory has recently been advanced, however, that the prevalence of the Cretan worship was "simply a case of return wave in historic times;" that the primitive Apollo-cult of pre-Delphic ages centered in Knossos, and that the Cretan worship was not derived from the Delphic.<sup>3</sup> However that may be, there are several important points to be noted in connection with the cult of Apollo Pythios at Delphi. In the first place, the god was an invader at Pytho; the oracle was originally the possession of Gaia, the earth-goddess.<sup>4</sup> The Python which guarded the shrine and was slain by Apollo, was her chthonian symbol. The method of divination was ecstatic, a type which may have belonged to Apollo, but seems less suited to his sober character than other methods found in Homer. The organ of prophecy was always a woman who performed in preparation for her task, certain rites which consisted of chewing leaves of laurel and drinking from an underground spring. Farnell, who has touched on the points mentioned, has suggested that it was especially alien to the character of Apollo to draw inspiration from an under-

<sup>1</sup> P. W. IV, 2527, *s. v. Delphoi* (H. von Gärtringen), on the name Πύθιος, from Πύθω 'place of enquiry'; Meister, *Dorier u. Achäer*, 79 (*Abh. d. Sächs. Ges., Phil. Hist. Kl.*, 1906),—Πύθιος in Crete; K. O. Müller, *Dorier* (Tr.) I, Ch. 2, § 1 and 2, seems to consider the name aboriginal; Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 218, 223.

<sup>2</sup> Wilamowitz, *Herakles*, Berlin, 1895, I, 14-16; *Hermes*, XXXVIII (1903), 580.

<sup>3</sup> A. L. Frothingham, *A. J. A.* XV, 349 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Aesch., *Eum.*, 1 ff; Paus. X, 5, 5; Eur., *I. T.* 1259; Apollod., *Bibl.* I, 4; Suidas, *s. v. Πύθω*; Paus. X, 24, 7; Plut., *De Pyth. Or.*, 397 A.

world source and that this practice had been inherited from the older system which he found at Delphi. For various reasons it appears that the divination was also chthonian and belonged to the older stratum of religion. The chthonian character of Pytho in general is very striking and is peculiarly foreign to the worship of Apollo. If, then, we accept the tradition of antiquity concerning the possession of the oracle, several points remain to be noted in connection with the original owner.

The suggestion has already been made that the Ge of Delphi and the Cretan earth-goddess are closely related.<sup>5</sup> Very early relations between Delphi and Crete are confirmed by traces of a Minoan settlement at Pytho.<sup>6</sup> If the Minoans were present there, they must have taken their deities with them, and the excavations in fact reveal the presence of Minoan religious emblems.<sup>7</sup> It is of interest to note that the legends connected with the founding of the oracle seem to bear a Minoan stamp. It is said that goats pasturing on the hillside at Delphi were overcome by fumes issuing from a chasm nearby and began to skip about and utter strange sounds. The shepherd, noticing their behaviour, approached the spot. He also was overcome and in his enthusiasm began to utter prophecies.<sup>8</sup> According

<sup>5</sup> Hawes, *Gournia*, 53. "The Cretan goddess is undoubtedly the same as the Ge who was the earliest divinity at Delphi" (Williams); Farnell, *op. c.*, III, 8.

<sup>6</sup> M. Perdrizet, "*Fouilles de Delphes*," Paris, V (1906), 3 ff.; Karo, *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1911, 249-70. The stone lion's snout from Delphi attests a Knossian founding for the Delphic shrine, in this writer's opinion. Cf. Evans, *J. H. S.* 1912, 285.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. double axe, *B. P. W.* 1896, 1086; *B. C. H.* XVIII (1894), 195; Perdrizet, *N. J.* XXI (1908), 22-33, *Die Hauptergebnisse der ausgrabungen in Delphi*.

<sup>8</sup> Diod. Sic. XVI, 26 λέγεται γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν αἷας εὐρεῖν τὸ μαντεῖον. οὐ χάριν αἰεὶ μάλιστα χρηστηριάζονται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οἱ Δελφοί . . . οὗτος χάσματος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ, καθ' ὃν ἔστι νῦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ καλούμενον ἄδυτον, καὶ περὶ τοῦτο γενομένων αἰγῶν διὰ τὸ μήπω κατοικεῖσθαι τοὺς Δελφοὺς, αἰεὶ τῷ χάσματι τὴν προσκοῦσαν καὶ προσβλέψασαν αὐτῷ σκιρτᾶν θαυμαστῶς καὶ προῖεσθαι φωνήν διάφορον ἢ πρότερον εἶδωι φθέγγεσθαι. τὸν δ' ἐπιστατοῦντα ταῖς αἰεὶ θαυμάσαι τὸ παράδοξον, καὶ προσελθόντα τῷ χάσματι καὶ κατιδόντα οἶδνπερ ἦν ταῦτο παθεῖν ταῖς αἰεὶν. ἐκείνας τε γὰρ ὅμοια ποιεῖν τοῖς ἐνθουσιάζουσι καὶ τοῦτον προλέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι . . . διὰ δὲ τὸ παράδοξον πάντων, ἀποπειρωμένων, τοὺς αἰεὶ πλησιάζοντας ἐνθουσιάζειν. δι' ἧς αἰτίας θαυμασθῆναι τε τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ νομισθῆναι τῆς Γῆς εἶναι τὸ χρηστήριον.

to Plutarch, the name of the shepherd was Kōretas.<sup>9</sup> This name has been connected etymologically with the Cretan Kuretes and has been used as an argument in favour of the Cretan origin of the Delphic oracle.<sup>10</sup> Further, there appears to be an analogy between certain mantic rites at Pytho and Aegean cult ritual as depicted on rings and seals. We have evidence from the Homeric Hymn to Apollo<sup>11</sup> and from various other sources that a laurel tree grew within the *temenos* at Delphi, and Aristophanes in the *Plutus* mentions the shaking of this tree when the priestess gave forth the oracle.<sup>12</sup> Consonant with this is the legend that Daphnis was appointed first prophetess of the oracle which belonged to Ge.<sup>13</sup> The laurel at Delphi, like the oak at Dodona, was probably once a prophetic tree. The statement of Pausanias allows us to infer this and the writer of the Homeric Hymn strongly suggests it.<sup>14</sup> Now the important part which the sacred tree played in Minoan worship is well known.<sup>15</sup> In a great number of instances where cult-scenes are represented, a sacred tree is seen growing from or beside the shrine, and in several cases it appears to be shaken in the performance of some orgiastic rite, sometimes by a male attendant. We have evidence that Crete was considered an important seat of divination in early times, but we cannot be certain that the scene depicted on the seals mentioned is concerned with divination. We know that the moon-goddess

<sup>9</sup> Plut., *De Def. Or.* 42; 46 D.

<sup>10</sup> Frazer, Paus. X, 5, 6, 7 n.

<sup>11</sup> *Hom. Hymn ad Ap.* 396 *χρείων ἐκ δάφνης γυάλων ὑπο Παρνησοῖο*; Callim., *Hymn ad Del.* 94, *ἀλλ' ἐμπης ἐρέω τι τορώτερον ἢ ἀπὸ δάφνης*; Eur., *I. T.* 1246; Hes., *Theog.* 499.

<sup>12</sup> Ar., *Plut.* 212 *ἔχω τιν' ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδ' ἐξ ὧν εἰπέ μοι.*

*ὁ Φοῖβος αὐτὸς Πυθικὴν σείσας δάφνην.*

Schol. *ib.* *φασὶν ὡς πλησίον τοῦ τρίποδος δάφνη ἵστατο ἣν ἡ Πυθία, ἡνίκα ἐχρησμάδει, εἰσεισεν.* Cf. Aristonoos, *Paean*, 10 ff. *χλωρότομον δάφναν σείων*, "where the adjective implies that a cut branch was shaken."

<sup>13</sup> Paus. X, 5, 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Hom. Hymn ad Ap.* 396; Pap. Anast. 5, XLVII, Br. Mus.: *δάφνη μαντοσύνης ἱερὸν φυτὸν Ἀπόλλωνος.*

<sup>15</sup> A. J. Evans, *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, *J. H. S.* 1901, 99, *passim*.



Pasiphæe, who was a Cretan divinity, had important oracles,<sup>15</sup> and Aristotle hands down the tradition that Onomakritos the Locrian, the teacher of Thaletas, visited in Crete, κατὰ τὴν γῆν μαυριχῆν. Many connecting links in the analogy are lacking and the similarity cannot be pressed. The part played by the sacred tree is nevertheless strongly suggestive of a connection between the two religious centers. Savignoni suggests that the scene on a ring from Phaistos, described below, may be concerned with divination, and mentions Dodona in connection with the representation of the dove.<sup>17</sup> Further evidence may be hoped for to support the theory that the Ge worshipped at Delphi, the shadowy Dione of Dodona and the Cretan earth goddess are deities akin and worshipped by a kindred people. That there were enthusiastic rites both at Crete and Delphi in the worship of the earth goddess, is apparent. Diodorus expressly states that the oracle at Delphi was considered to be a possession of Ge because of the enthusiastic prophecy of those who came near the chasm. We have evidence that the worship of Zeus in Crete began μετ' ὀργιασμοῦ,<sup>18</sup> and the seals frequently depict orgiastic scenes; we learn from inscriptions that in their ecstasy the votaries of the Magna Mater at Phaistos might prophesy. Most of the oracles of Apollo in which divination

<sup>15</sup> Plut., *Agis*. καὶ διὰ τὸ πᾶσι φαίνειν τὰ μαντεῖα, Πασιφάαν προσαγορεύεσθαι. (In Sparta, Tertullian, *De. An.* 46; Cic., *De. Div.* I, 43. Plut., *Cleom.*). On prophecy in the service of the Great Mother at Phaistos, Crete, Farnell, *op. c.*, III, 297. Cf. Photius, *Κρητίδαι*. μάντις ἀπὸ Κρήτης. Aristotle, *Polit.* 1274 a, 25 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Mon. Ant.* XIV (1905), 577 ff., fig. 50. At the r. of the scene, a nude woman shakes a sacred tree; in the center, a man kneels before a baetylic stone; at the l. is an altar and a dove flying to the r. (Ring from Phaistos). Cf., also, Evans, *M. T. and P. C.* 176, fig. 52; 177, fig. 53 (Kings from Vaphio and Mycenae, resp.). Evans interprets the scene as a representation of the partaking of the fruit of the sacred tree, which constituted an act of divine communion (cf. the chewing of the laurel by the priestess at Delphi. (Luc. Bis. Acc. I). Savignoni, *Mon. Ant.*, l. c., 585. Cf. Karo, *Arch. f. Rel.* 1904, 134, citing Carapanos, *Dodone et ses Ruines*, Paris, 1878, 100, 4. It is not chance that in Dodona Zeus Νῆας is designated by a double axe. Dione by the dove, just as the deities in Knossos. The two centers were closely connected and their gods may be intimately associated. Farnell, *op. c.*, I, 39.

<sup>18</sup> Strabo, 468.



was accompanied by ecstatic inspiration, were in some way connected with an earth goddess.<sup>19</sup> Finally, the goats which discovered the oracle at Delphi were not Apollo's, but designate a chthonian power. They were peculiarly sacred, and were mentioned by Diodorus as the favorite victim used in his time when the oracle was consulted. They were never in a special sense the animal attribute of Apollo as was the wolf, for example, in the cult Lykeios. In Naxos, the god was worshipped as *Τράγιος* but the cult may easily have been a local worship taken over by him.<sup>20</sup> Nor does it appear that his office of goat-herd or god of shepherds would have necessarily caused this animal to become closely associated with the Delphic oracle.<sup>21</sup> So important a part did the goat play in the ritual at Delphi that the priestess did not descend into the cavern unless the omen derived from its action was favorable. The priestess was accustomed to pour cold water on the animal's head and if it shook in every limb it was possessed by the deity, and the omen permitted her to perform her task. We have noted above the part played by goats in the legends concerned with the foundation of the oracle. The goat gave its name to the Delphic Omphalos, which was called the *Ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγαῖος*.<sup>22</sup> The nurse of the Python at Delphi was known as *Αἰξ*.<sup>23</sup> Further, there was a river and a plain near Delphi both of which bore

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Euseb., *Praep. Ev.* V, 16 (Porphyry, *περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας*).

μήρια μὲν γαίης μαντήια θέσκελα νότῳ  
ἐβλύσθη, πηγαί τε καὶ ἄσθαματα δινήεντα  
μόνῳ δ' ἡελίῳ φαεσιμβρότῳ εἰσέτ' ἔασιν  
ἐν Δινδύμων γνάλοις Μυκαλήϊον ἐνθεον ὕδωρ,  
Πύθωνος τ' ἀνὰ πέζαν ὑπαὶ Παρνάσιον αἶπος,  
καὶ κραναῇ Κλαρίῃ, τρηχὺ στόμα φοιβάδος ὁμόης.

At Argos, *B. C. H.* 1903, 271.

<sup>20</sup> Steph. Byz. *s. v.* *Τραγία*.

<sup>21</sup> Diod. XVI, 26, cited above. On Apollo's relation to goats, Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1869, 100; Farnell, *op. c.*, I, 96 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Hesych. *s. v.* *Ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγὸς*. *ζητεῖται πῶς τὴν Πυθῶ, ὀμφαλὸν Αἰγαῖον. τινὲς δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῆς Αἰγαίων γῆς*. Cf. *B. C. H.* XXIV (1900), 254, where Jane Harrison sets forth the theory that the Omphalos was covered with a goat-skin. The goat-skin was worn by soothsayers.

<sup>23</sup> Plut., *Quaest. Gr.*, 12.

the name Aigaion.<sup>24</sup> The offering of a goat sent by Eleusis to Delphi probably preserves an ancient tradition.<sup>25</sup> The people of Kleonai are known to have sent a bronze goat as a mark of gratitude for their deliverance from a plague.<sup>26</sup> The coinage of Delphi in later times doubtless contained a reminiscence of the important part played by this animal in the early history of the oracle, as the goat's head appears on coins in combination with a dolphin.<sup>27</sup>

Comparing the evidence at Delphi with what we find in Crete, we discover many points of contact. Rhea concealed Zeus at his birth on Mt. Aigaion,<sup>28</sup> where he was nurtured by the goat Amaltheia, a goddess of fertility belonging to Crete,<sup>29</sup> represented under both the likeness of a goddess and that of an animal. In return for his nurture, Zeus assigned special honors to Amaltheia and took from her the epithet *αἰγίοχος*. From her, he received his ægis and from the same source Apollo probably received his, although he has lost this attribute of Epic times after the Homeric age. Lastly, the people of Elyros in Crete sent to Delphi a statue of a bronze goat suckling the two children of Apollo by the Cretan nymph Akakallis.<sup>30</sup> In fact, the importance which this animal had in Minoan cults is to be seen from the numerous seals on which a priestess is represented holding a goat by the neck.<sup>31</sup> The goat also appears on the coinage of Crete.

When to this we add the fact that there was a Korycian hill in

<sup>24</sup> Steph. Byz. s. v. Αἰγά. ἔστι καὶ Αἰγαῖον πεδῖον συνάπτον τῇ Κίρῳ ὡς Ἡσίοδος (Fr. 42) λέγεται παρὰ Αἰγῶν ποταμὸν φερόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὸ Πύθιον ὄρους ὅθ' οὐ καὶ τὸ πεδῖον Αἰγαῖον. Eustath. on Dionys. Per. 132.

<sup>25</sup> Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1895, 99, ἐβδόμη ἱσταμένου Ἀπόλλωνι Πιθίῳ αἰξί.

<sup>26</sup> Paus. X, II, 5.

<sup>27</sup> Head, H. N. 1911, 340-2; Svoronos, B. C. H. XX (1896), 8, Pl. XXV-XXX.

<sup>28</sup> Hes., Theog. 484.

<sup>29</sup> E. Neustadt, *De Jove Cretico*, 1906; Diod. V, 70; II. XV, 229; Schol., II. XXI, 194. (The goddess is a sibyl in later times.)

<sup>30</sup> Paus. X, 16, 5.

<sup>31</sup> Reichel, V. G. 1897, 59. Figg. 20, 22, 3 (gems from Vaphio). Seals with goats were found in large numbers in Dikte and at Zakro. Hogarth, B. S. A. VI, 112; J. H. S. 1902, Pl. VI-IX; Svoronos, *Nu-mismatique de la Crète ancienne*, 1890.

Crete, and a cave of that name at Delphi on Mt. Parnassus, that there was a Knossian "plain of the Omphalos" which can scarcely be separated from the Delphic Omphalos, it is evident that these associations in their entirety form a very strong bond between the two centers.<sup>32</sup> We have left out of account minor associations, such as the fact that the stone which Kronos swallowed in place of Zeus was later set up in Delphi,<sup>33</sup> thus connecting the Cretan legend of the birth of Zeus directly with Delphi. Further the Omphalos itself is thought to be an imitation of a Cretan cult form.<sup>34</sup> The building of the second temple at Delphi was assigned to Pteras, the eponymous hero of Cretan Aptera<sup>35</sup> and it was also said that the Cretans set up in Delphi a statue of aniconic type which was the work of the Cretan Daedalus.<sup>36</sup> It was to Crete that Apollo repaired for purification after slaying the snake which guarded Pytho. To Crete, the legends of the Hypoborean Agyieus point.<sup>37</sup>

This wealth of cross references connecting Crete with Delphi is not without significance. Several conclusions may be drawn from the evidence cited above. The first is that the laurel and goats were connected with the oracle before Apollo assumed the ownership of this religious center.<sup>38</sup> Both were possessions of the earth goddess, and were connected with her chthonian oracle. From her also, the Pythian priestess drew her ecstatic inspiration. It will thus be seen that Apollo at his advent into Delphi, already a god of divination,<sup>39</sup> appropriated to his worship a chthonian oracle, Cretan in origin, or influenced by Cretans at a remote date. We shall notice later that the cathartic

<sup>32</sup> Steph. Byz. s. v. Κορίκιον, 402, 8; Callim., *Hymn in Jov.* 45; Diod. V, 70.

<sup>33</sup> Paus. X, 24, 6; Hes., *Theog.* 499.

<sup>34</sup> Gruppe, *op. c.*, I, 103.

<sup>35</sup> Paus. X, 5, 10.

<sup>36</sup> Pind., *Pyth.* V, 39 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Paus. X, 7, 2; X, 5, 8-11.

<sup>38</sup> M. B. Ogle, *A. J. P.* XXXI (1910), 287 ff. "*Laurel in Ancient Religion and Folk Lore.*"

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Korope in Thessaly; *χρηστήριος*, in Aeolis, *Ath. Mitth.* X, 273; *B. C. H.* X (1886), 293; Strabo, 622.

elements which entered into the Delphic cult may be traced to Crete, and that the cult of Apollo Delphinios at Krisa was derived from this island. The Pythian cult was thus enmeshed in Cretan traditions, which, far from being accidental legends, or inventions of Greek authors, prove that the oracle in its essence was derived from Crete. The fact that Apollo brought from Crete<sup>40</sup> the priests who interpreted his oracle supplies another link in the chain of evidence.

<sup>40</sup> *Hom. Hymn ad Ap.* 388.

#### DELPHINIOS.

Since the etymological derivation of the word Delphinios is a disputed question, it should be stated at the outset that we accept the etymological explanation of the word which connects it with the root *Δελφ*- meaning "hollow," or "cavity," and ultimately with *Δελφ-ίς* "belly-fish" (cf. *Ἐλεύσις*—*Ἐλευσίνιος*), and reject the suggestion of Aly<sup>1</sup> that it is a patronymic form from Delphos, a shadowy eponymous ancestor of the *Δελφοί*. According to the etymological interpretation which we accept, the cult is that of the dolphin god; the name Delphi which superseded Homeric Pytho, is derived from Delphinios by a process of shortening.<sup>2</sup>

The origin of the cult of Apollo Delphinios has been disputed. Mommsen considered it Chalcidian,<sup>3</sup> a view held

<sup>1</sup> Aly, *op. c.*, 18 ff. (cf. *Δελφίδιος* in Crete and Sparta).

<sup>2</sup> Kretschmer, *Gesch. d. Gr. Spr.* 421. Cf. Curtius, *Etym.*<sup>5</sup>, 479; Prellwitz<sup>2</sup>, 110; L. Meyer I, 128; III, 256 (Meister, *Gr. Dial.* I, 118. Place named from *βελφοί*). The name of Delphi itself is comparatively late but it is not necessary for this reason to consider the introduction of the dolphin god post-Homeric.

<sup>3</sup> Mommsen, *Herortologie*, 1864, 1.



originally by Wilamowitz,<sup>4</sup> but later retracted; accepted, however, by Maass<sup>5</sup> and Preller.<sup>6</sup> Gruppe derives the god from the Philistine land in the Orient, which he maintains was the home of most of the gods of the old Cretan culture. He identifies him with the god Dagon<sup>7</sup> and brings him westward by way of Crete. Hiller von Gärtringen<sup>8</sup> holds that the Cretan Dorians brought the god along with Pythios from the North and developed him in Crete. Delphi has also been suggested as the starting place of the cult.<sup>9</sup> On one thing most writers agree: the home of the god was not an inland community, but a litoral or island locality. On the strength of the evidence derived from the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, the origin of the cult has also been assigned to Crete.<sup>10</sup>

The evidence in favor of a Cretan origin is twofold. First and foremost is the proof from the localities in which Apollo Delphinios was worshipped. We know that in Crete he had an important cult at Knossos<sup>11</sup> and that valuable state records were deposited in the care of the god in his sacred precinct, or *Δελφίδιον*. The remaining cults of Crete were probably subordinate in importance to that of Knossos. In Dreros, an oath was taken by the *ἔφηβοι* to remain true to Knossos, and the gods invoked included Apollo Delphinios.<sup>12</sup> The month Del-

<sup>4</sup> Wilamowitz, *Hermes* XXI, 91; *Hermes* XXXVIII (1903), 575.

<sup>5</sup> E. Maass, *Greifsw. Prog.* 1886-7, 16; *Hermes* XXIII, 71.

<sup>6</sup> Preller, *Gr. Myth.* (4), I, 257, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Religionsgesch.* II, 1228.

<sup>8</sup> P. W., IV, 2542, s. v. *Delphoi* (H. von Gärtringen).

<sup>9</sup> Schömann, *Opusc.* I, 343; cf. P. W. II, 47, s. v. *Apollon*, (Wernicke) for cult localities.

<sup>10</sup> Preller, *Ber. d. Sächs. Ges.* VI, 140; Farnell, *op. c.*, 146: Aly, *Klio*, 1911, 25 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *C. I. G.* II, 2554, 98; *B. C. H.* 1905, 205; Cauer, *Delect.* II, 121; *C. B.* 5155 = *Inscr. Magn.* 67, 8 (decree for two Magnesian ambassadors to be set up) *ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ Ἀπέλλωνος τῷ Δελφιδίῳ*. (Date, 200 B. C.—Kern). *C. B.* 5016, 20; *C. B.* 5150, 45; *C. B.* 5149, 12, arbitration of Knossos in a dispute between Latos and Olus (date, 102, Homolle, *B. C. H.* VII, 155); *C. B.* 5075, 49.

<sup>12</sup> *C. B.* 4952 a 21 (followed by Pythios); *Mus. Ital.* III, 659 C 31; cf. *Rh. M.* 1856, 393.



phinios is mentioned in one of the decrees of Olus.<sup>13</sup> The god is indirectly proven for other localities<sup>14</sup> and seems to have had an important cult in the island. A citation from the Anthology<sup>15</sup> that Rhianos the Cretan called on Delphinios also has some bearing here, though the places mentioned by Stephanus as the home of Rhianos, can have no significance for the spreading of the worship of the god.

Of the cults outside Crete, a certain number show Cretan connections. The cult at Miletos<sup>16</sup> appears to have been founded by Cretans.<sup>17</sup> This city has been thought to be Delphic-Cretan in origin, which would imply very early migrations from Delphi eastward.<sup>18</sup> The supporting evidence has been derived from a passage in Conon<sup>19</sup> in which this writer makes Branchos, the eponymous hero of the Branchidai, a Delphian. Strabo and Varro have followed him, but the version of Conon probably dates from a time when an effort was made to connect all important religious centers with Delphi because of its pre-eminence, and is therefore of little value. We have, however, had occasion to notice the presence of Cretans at Delphi at a very early period and it is possible that influence from Delphi was felt on the coast of Asia Minor before and during the period of the Ionic migration. Such a supposition would account for the Delphic-Cretan foundation of cities and shrines

<sup>13</sup> C. B. 5149, 22 (Temple of Phoibos there). C. B. 5105—4th C. B. C. H. III, 293, 22.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Aly. *op. c.*, 15-16.

<sup>15</sup> *Anth. Pal.* VI, 278, 3. (Fr. 9.) Cf. Steph. Byz. 167, 5, 'Απόλλωνι Δελφινίῳ.

<sup>16</sup> Diog. Laert. (Thales) I, 29; θαλῆς Ἐξαμίον Μιλήσιος Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφινίῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀριστεῖον. *Sitzb. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1904, 623; 1905, 540; C. B. 5495.

<sup>17</sup> Strabo, 573; Strabo, 634; φησὶ δ' Ἐφορος τὸ πρῶτον κτίσμα εἶναι Κρητικόν, ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης τετειχισμένον, ὅπου νῦν ἡ πάλαι Μιλήτης ἐστὶ, Σαρπηδόνης ἐκ Μιλήτου τῆς Κρητικῆς ἀγαγόντος οἰκῆτορας καὶ θημένον τὸννομα τῇ πόλει τῆς ἐκεῖ πόλεως ἐπώνυμον κατεχόντων πρότερον Δελέγων τὸν τόπον. *Hdt.* I, 157; Paus. VII, 2, 4: τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Διδύμοις τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστιν ἄρχαιότερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν Ἰώνων ἐσώκησιν; Paus. VII, 3, 1, Cretans found Kolophon.

<sup>18</sup> K. O. Müller, *op. c.* (Tr.), I, 224 (I, 2, 2, § 6): Roscher, s. v. Branchos. (Weizsäcker).

<sup>19</sup> Konon, *Narrat.* 33; Strabo, 421.

in Asia Minor. That the Cretans had their part in founding Miletos appears certain.\*

Religious associations between Crete and Miletos, aside from the worship of Delphinios, are rather vague. Apollo *οὔλιος*, the health-god worshipped at Miletos, is found on the road which connected Crete, Attica and Delphi and Farnell<sup>20</sup> suspects traces of the influence of the Cretan Zeus in the worship of Zeus Dindymaios at Miletos. It was this city which transplanted the cult of Delphinios to the shores of the Black Sea.<sup>21</sup> At Massilia the worship belonged to all Ionians, and the presence of Diktyнна there proves Cretan connections.<sup>22</sup> The island cults may very readily have come from Crete as the god travelled thence to Athens and Asia Minor. At Thera, the worship is proved by an archaic inscription,<sup>23</sup> at Chios, by inscriptions and literary evidence<sup>24</sup> and we know that both of these localities were settled by Cretans. Aegina is known to have had a month Delphinios,<sup>25</sup> and to have celebrated a festival in honor of the god. The worship of Aphaia, the goddess who is Diktyнна under another name, was probably closely united here with that of Delphinios, as both were deities con-

\*The evidence for the Cretan foundation of Miletos is now available, as a result of recent excavations. The *temenos* of Apollo Delphinios has also been uncovered. The god was honored with an altar, but with no *ναός*, or temple. The lack of any house for the god is an evidence of the remote antiquity of the cult, although it does not necessarily prove that the god came from Crete. For an account of the excavations, cf. Wiegand, *Siebenter vorläufiger Bericht über die von den Königlichen Museen in Milet und Didyma unternommenen Ausgrabungen*, Abh. d. K. Pr. Akad., Berlin, 1911.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Farnell *op. c.*, IV, 227; Strabo, 635.

<sup>21</sup> At Olbia: Latyschew, *Inscr. Or. Sept. Pont. Eux.* I, 106; *Arch. Anz.* 1904, 102 (4th C. Vase): Δελφινίου ξυνῇ Ἱητροῦ.

<sup>22</sup> Strabo, 179, 4, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκρᾷ . . . τὸ τοῦ Δελφινίου, Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν. τοῦτο μὲν κοινὸν Ἰωνῶν ἀπάντων. (Evidence pointing to Phocis.) Cult of Diktyнна, *C. I. G.* 6754.

<sup>23</sup> *I. G.* XII, 3, 330, 63, 133; 3, 537, καὶ τὸν Δελφίνιον (very archaic); *Ath. Mitth.* XXI (1806), 253.

<sup>24</sup> Schol. Demos. XXIII, § 74, Δελφινίον ἐστὶ μὲν τι χωρίον ἐν Χίῳ. *B. C. H.* 1879, 244 (4th C.) ἡ γῆ ἢ ἐν Δελφινίῳ, Thucyd. VIII, 38; Xen., *Hell.* I, 5, 15; Diod. XIII, 76; Steph., *Harpoc. s. v.*; Wilamowitz, *Sitzb. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1906, 63, 75.

<sup>25</sup> Schol. Pindar, *Nem.* V, 81; Schol., *Ol.* VII, 156; Schol., *Pyth.* VIII, 88.

cerned with maritime interests, but the connection cannot be absolutely proved.<sup>26</sup>

In Greece proper the dolphin god is vouched for at Athens, Chalcis, Oropos, Delphi and Sparta. At Athens the cult is intimately connected with Theseus and has other marked Ionic associations, showing how closely Athens and Crete were associated at this period.<sup>27</sup>

From Athens it is probable that the cult of the god passed to the shores of Thessaly. He possessed a sanctuary at Chalcis<sup>28</sup> and gave his name to the harbor at Oropos.<sup>29</sup> At Sparta there was a cult Delphidios, but Apollo is not mentioned in this connection. Finally, there was an altar belonging to him on the shore of Krisa, where he was worshipped as Delphinios. Our earliest authority for the cult in this locality is the writer of the Homeric Hymn, who relates a story of Cretans from Knossos bound for sandy Pylos with their ships.<sup>30</sup> These men Apollo intercepted in their course, as a dolphin guided them to the shore of Krisa, bade them build there an altar for him and honor him as the dolphin god. Thence he led them to Pytho to become interpreters of his oracle. Several more legends are

<sup>26</sup> Plut., *De Soll. An.* XXXVI; Furtwängler, *Aegina*, München, 1906, 5, 8.

<sup>27</sup> Paus. I, 19, 1; Plut. *Thes.* 12; cf. *ib.* 18. *C. I. A.* 3, 138 *τυχὼν ὑγείας Δελφινίῳ*. Cf. *C. I. A.* 3, 939. On court Delphinion, Paus. I, 28, 10. Harpocr. s. v. *Δελφίνιον*.

<sup>28</sup> Plut., *Flamin.* 16 (Delphinion).

<sup>29</sup> Strabo, XI, 403, Ὠρωπὸς καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς λιμὴν ὃν καλοῦσι Δελφίνιον. *C. B.* 4465, Sparta; Le Bas-Foucart, 162 h.

<sup>30</sup> Hom., *Hymn ad Ap.* 388 ff.

καὶ τότε δὴ κατὰ θεῖον ἐφράζετο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
οὗς τινὰς ἀνθρώπους ὀργίονας εἰσαγάγοιτο  
οἱ θεραπεύονται Πυθοὶ ἐνι πετρῆσση.  
ταῦτ' ἄρα ὀρμαίνων ἐνόησ' ἐπὶ οἶνοσι πόντῳ  
νῆα θοῆν. ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ἔσαν πολέες τε καὶ ἑσθλοί,  
Κρήτες ἀπὸ Κνωσσοῦ Μινωῖου, οἳ ρά τ' ἀνακτι  
ἱερά τε μένονσι καὶ ἀγγέλλουσι θέμιστας  
Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσαόρου, ὅτι κεν εἴπῃ  
χρεῖων ἐκ δάφνης γνάλων ὑπο Παρνησοῖο.  
οἳ μὲν ἐπὶ πρῆξιν καὶ χρήματα νηὶ μελαίνῃ  
ἐς Πύλον ἡμαθόεντα Πυλογενέας τ' ἀνθρώπους  
ἐπλεον. αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι συνήντετο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.  
ἐν πόντῳ δ' ἐπόρουσε δέμας δελφῖνι ἑοικώς  
νηὶ θοῇ καὶ κεῖτο πέλωρ μέγα τε δεινόν τε.

extant, probably dependent on the Homeric Hymn, which derive from Crete the dolphin god at Krisa.<sup>31</sup> From the evidence cited, several deductions may be drawn. The first is, that at least as early as the seventh century Delphi was bringing the priests of Apollo, *ῥογγεῶνες*, from Crete, and we see that this tradition is in keeping with later records, namely that the *ἱερεῖς* at Delphi, whose duties are the same as those of the Cretan *ῥογγεῶνες*, were of aboriginal descent. The second deduction is, that the writer knew of the Knossian cult of the dolphin god and of Delphic associations with Crete in religion, especially in the case of the altar on the shore of Krisa. As to the date of the cult at Delphi, opinions vary. Aly would say that the foundation at Krisa is late in origin, inasmuch as it is based on the late and false etymological explanation which connects it with the "dolphin god."<sup>32</sup> Farnell argues that the cult must be post-Homeric, because Homer nowhere mentions Delphi, but uses the name Pytho.<sup>33</sup> He finds no trace of the sacredness of the dolphin in the Mycenaean age, and considers the cult a later development emanating from Crete. We may, despite the absence of certain evidence, infer that the cult dates back to Minoan times. We know from Plutarch that Diktynna, the Cretan sea-goddess, and Delphinios, who is none other than her cult brother, were closely associated.<sup>34</sup> Further, the cult of Delphinios may have existed at Pytho for a long time before it gave its name to the place. Indeed Aly believes that Delphinios was an old 'Sondergott' of the Eteocretans, so named by Hellenic immigrants; that he traveled to Delphi and that his cult was there fused with that of Apollo. If we accept this view, it is possible that the dolphin god may have preceded

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Et. Mag. 358, 57—Cretans saved and brought to Attica by Apollo in the form of a dolphin. Cf. Paus. X, 13, 10 (Phalanthus). Plut., *Mor.* 984, a rationalized account of the Homeric Hymn. Serv. Aen. III, 332, Ikadios.

<sup>32</sup> Aly, *op. c.*, 42, n. 4.

<sup>33</sup> Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 186.

<sup>34</sup> Plut., *De Soll. An.*, l. c.; Diktynna, the cult companion of Delphinios, is associated on coins with the fish.



Apollo by a considerable margin of time. We have no proof of the sacredness of the dolphin in Minoan Crete, although the coinage of Crete in later times doubtless preserves some record of the cult associations of this animal. It is of interest in this connection to consider the passage in the Homeric Hymn which describes the arrival of the god in Krisa.<sup>35</sup> In the form of a dolphin, he has been guiding the Cretan ship to the shores of Krisa. When they arrive there, the god leaps from the vessel, ἀστέρι εἰδόμενος, and sparks of fire flash in every direction. The passage is said to be an imitation of the descent of Athena from Olympus, in *Iliad*. Δ. 77.<sup>37</sup> Even if we should admit that this is the case, the manifestation of light is significant.

ἔνθ' ἄρ' ὃ γε φλόγα δαΐε πιφανσκόμενος τὰ δ' αἰ κῆλα  
πᾶσαν δὲ Κρίσην κάτεχεν σέλας.

The shafts of fire betoken a god of light with lunisolar connections. The description suggests to Gruppe, Zeus Asterios of the old Cretan culture.<sup>38</sup> We know that Diktynna, the cult companion of Delphinios, was a moon goddess in Crete and that Apollo Delphinios was frequently allied with Helios.

We see from the evidence presented that the cult of Delphinios points to Crete as its original home; the cult localities outside of Crete present Cretan connections and the writer of the Homeric Hymn vouches for the Cretan origin of the cult

<sup>35</sup> *Hom. Hymn. Ap.* 438 ff.

ἐνθ' ἐκ νηὸς ὄρουσεν ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων  
ἀστέρι εἰδόμενος μέσῳ ἡματι. τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ πολλὰι  
σπινθαρίδες πωτῶντο, σέλας δ' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἵκεν.  
ἐς δ' ἄδυντο κατέδυσσε διὰ τριπόδων ἐριτίμων.  
ἔνθ' ἄρ' ὃ γε φλόγα δαΐε πιφανσκόμενος τὰ δ' αἰ κῆλα  
πᾶσαν δὲ Κρίσην κάτεχεν σέλας. αἱ δ' ὀλόλυξαν  
Κρισαίων ἄλοχοι καλλιζώνοι τε θύγατρες  
Φοῖβον ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς, μέγα γὰρ δέος ἐμβαλ' ἐκάστω.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Allen and Sikes, *Homeric Hymns*, 119, n. on 442.

Il. Δ, 75 οἷον δ' ἀστέρα ἦκε Κρόνον παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω  
ἢ ναυτησι τέρας ἢ ἐστρατῶν εὐρεῖ λαῶν,  
λαμπρόν. τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπινθήρες ἰενται  
τῷ εἰκυῖ' ἦϊξεν ἐπὶ χθόνα Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη  
καθ' ὃν ἐθορ' ἐς μέσσον.

<sup>38</sup> Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* I, 101. Cf. Virgil, *Ciris*, 305, for Diktynna as the moon.



at Krisa. At what period the cult of the dolphin god rose to such importance that it gave its name to immemorial Pytho, we cannot say with certainty. The fact that Delphi is not mentioned by Homer does not preclude the possibility of the existence of the dolphin god there in pre-Homeric times.

# SMINTHEUS.

The cult of Apollo, the "mouse god," was confined almost entirely to the coast of Asia Minor and the islands. It seems never to have gained an important stronghold on the mainland but to have attained noteworthy prestige in the Troad, where it was of great antiquity. We may believe the tradition handed down by the Scholiast on Lycophron<sup>1</sup> who informs us that *Σμίνθοι* was the Cretan word for "mice." Recent investigations into the termination, *-υθος* strengthen the tradition. According to the authority of Kretschmer,<sup>2</sup> this ending is not Indo-European but belongs to an earlier stratum of population; it came into Greece from Caria. The civilisation of Caria is generally admitted to belong to the "sub-Aegean" period; as Hogarth has shown, elements common to Crete and Caria make their appearance in Crete ages before we discern

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. s. v. *σμίνθος*. *μῦς*. Schol. Lyc. 1303 *Σμίνθοι γὰρ παρὰ Κρησίων οἱ μῦες*. Steph. Byz. s. v. 580, 11. The word is apparently Eteocretan; cf. also Etruscan words, *sminthinal*, *Smintius*, *isminthinal*, *C. I. Etr.* 3737, 3738, 5201. Schulze, *Zur Gesch. Lat. Eigenamen*, 473. Cf. Deecke, Pauli, *Etr. Forsch. u. Studien* II, 24; Deecke, *Etr. Forsch.* IV, 53; Lattes, *Rend. d. R. Ac. dei Lincei*, II, (1893), 1026; III, (1894), 51, 112. Cf. Kannengiesser, *Klio*, 1911, 26 *Agäische, besonders Kretische Namen bei den Etruskern*.

<sup>2</sup> Kretschmer, *Einl. in d. Gr. Spr.* 1896, 308, 404; cf. M. Mayer, *Jahrbuch. Arch. Inst.* VII (1892), 191; H. R. Hall, *J. H. S.* XXV (1905), 320; Fick, *V. O.*, 28.

them in Caria; the Cretan *labyrinthos* is older than the Carian *labyrandos*.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to the etymological evidence in favour of a Cretan origin for the Sminthian Apollo, we have the proof from the cult localities. Our earliest testimony is found in the *Iliad*,<sup>4</sup> where the god is invoked by Apollo's priest. In this passage the important cult centers belonging to the god are named, Chryse, Killa and Tenedos. The chief center of worship was Chryse near Hamaxitos, and it is interesting to note that the legends concerning the founding of Chryse point to Crete.<sup>5</sup> The account which assigned the foundation to the Teuceri coming from Crete, goes back, according to Strabo, to the elegiac poet, Callinus. The record is accepted by Lycophron and Aelian, but Strabo gives conflicting reports. Some later writers, he says, reject the tradition that the Teuceri came from

<sup>3</sup> Hogarth, *Ionian and the East*, 103. Conway, *B. S. A.*, 1901, 154, follows Kretschmer in considering the words pre-Hellenic, but thinks them Indo-European; cf. Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, 1907, 151; cf. 143, L. M. = Carian; Mackenzie, *B. S. A.* XII, 216-219.

<sup>4</sup> *Il. A.* 39 Κλυθὶ μὲν ἀργυρότοξ, ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας  
Κίλλαν τε ξαθέην, Τενέδοιό τε ἱφὶ ἀνάσσεις  
Σμινθῆν.

<sup>5</sup> *Ael., De Nat. An.* XII, 5; Strabo, 604. ἦν δὲ τῷ Ἀχαΐῳ συνεχῆς . . . καὶ ἡ Ἀμαξιτὸς . . . Ἐν δὲ τῇ Χρύσῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σμινθέως Ἀπόλλωνος ἐστὶ ἱερὸν, καὶ τὸ σύμβολον τὸ τὴν ἐνυμότητα τοῦ ὀνόματος σῶζον, ὁ μῦς, ὑπόκειται τῷ ποδὶ τοῦ ξοάνου. . . . τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ἀφιγμένοις Τεύκροις (οὓς πρῶτος παρέδωκε Καλλίνος ὁ τῆς ἰλίου πύλης ποιητῆς, ἠκολούθησαν δὲ πολλοὶ) χρησμός ἦν, αὐτοῖσι ποιήσασθαι τὴν μονὴν ὅπου ἂν οἱ γηγενεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιθῶνται, συμβῆναι δὲ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς φασὶ περὶ Ἀμαξιτόν. νύκτωρ γὰρ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀρουραίων μυνῶν ἐξανθήσαν διαφαγεῖν ὅσα σκότινα τῶν τε ὄπλων καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων. τοὺς δὲ αὐτόθι μείναι. τοῦτους δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰδὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ προσονομάσαι. Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικός πληθύνοντάς φησι τοὺς μῆας περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν νομισθῆναι τε ἱεροὺς καὶ τὸ ξόανον οὕτω κατασκευασθῆναι. . . . πολλαχοῦ δ' ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ Σμινθέως ὄνομα. καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀμαξιτὸν χωρὶς τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν Σμινθίου δύο τόποι καλοῦνται Σμίνθια. καὶ ἄλλοι δ' ἐν τῇ πλησίον Λαρισαίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Παριανῇ δ' ἐστὶ χωρίον τὰ Σμίνθια καλούμενον, καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ καὶ ἐν Δινδῳ καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλαχοῦ. καλοῦσι δὲ νῦν τὸ ἱερὸν Σμινθιον.

Schol. *Il. I.*, 39. ἐν Χρύσῃ . . . Κρίνις τις ἱερὴν ἦν τοῦ κείθι Ἀπόλλωνος. τοῦτω ὀργισθεὶς ὁ θεὸς ἐπεμψεν αὐτῷ τοῖς ἀγροῦς μῆας . . . βουλῆθεὶς δὲ ποτε ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ καταλῆγγναι πρὸς Ὀρῆν τὸν ἀρχιβασιλέα αὐτῷ παρεγένετο, παρ' ᾧ ξενιαθεὶς ὁ θεὸς ἐπέσχετο τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλάξαι, καὶ δὴ παραχρήμα τοξείας τοὺς μῆς διέσχευε . . . οὐ γενομένου ὁ Κρίνις ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο τῷ θεῷ, Σμινθέα αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐγχώριον αὐτῶν διάλεκτον οἱ μῆες σμίνθοι καλοῦνται. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Πολέμῳ. ἄλλοι δὲ οὕτως ὅτι Κρήτες . . . ἔκτισαν ἐκεῖ πόλιν ἥντινα ἐκάλεσαν Σμινθίαν. οἱ γὰρ Κρήτες τοὺς μῆας σμίνθους καλοῦσι. Schol. Verg., *Aen.* III, 108. Polemon, *F. H. G.* III, 124.

Crete; they claim that Teucer came from Athens and cite as proof the fact that Erichthonios was the common founder of the two places.<sup>6</sup> Strabo himself, however, defends the Cretan story and when we consider the Cretan proclivities of Teucer and his family, the legend appears to have some foundation of fact.<sup>7</sup> Conway connects Trojan Chryse with the island of the same name off the coast of Crete, endeavoring to show that the name is an Eteocretan word. If we may accept this evidence, the two centers are linked together even more closely.<sup>8</sup>

An examination of the cult centers which are scattered along the coast of Asia Minor and the neighboring islands, shows that the god may have passed from the island of Crete to Rhodes<sup>9</sup> and thence to the Troad in very early times, that is, before the Aeolic migration. Especially in the West, at Eryx,<sup>10</sup> Katana,<sup>11</sup> Messana,<sup>12</sup> Phintias,<sup>13</sup> and Rhegion,<sup>14</sup> we may believe that the god was introduced by Rhodians. Cretan relations with Tenedos are also indicated by the appearance of the double axe and by the knowledge of Cretan-Carian cults;<sup>15</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, 604-5; *ib.* 612, 63.

<sup>7</sup> Steph. Byz. s. v. 'Αρισβη 119, 7 (Scamandros); Lycophron, 1304, and Schol.; E. M. Σκαμ. 715, 30. Cf. Gruppe, *op. c.*, 301.

<sup>8</sup> Conway, B. S. A. VIII (1901-2), 144; cf. *σμ*-initial group with Σμυσίων month in Magnesia, Dittenberger, 553<sup>3</sup>, 929, 2. Kern, *Inschr. von Magnesia* 82, 98. On Chrysa, Pliny IV, 20, 58, (Sillig). According to Wilamowitz, *Opfer am Grabe*, 251.2 *Χρῖση* cannot be separated from the Phocian *Κρῖσα*. Kretschmer, *Gr. Vaseninschr.*, recalls Etruscan *chrisitha*. Cf. Delphic seer Chrysothemis. Gruppe, *op. c.*, 631, 4.

<sup>9</sup> Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 166; *I. G. I.* 762; Strabo XIII, 605; Athen III, 74 F. Sminthian Festival, Apoll., *Hom. Lex. s. v.* 143. In Aeolis and Rhodes Σμίνθιος or Σμινθέος, very common. Σμινθέος in *I. G. XII*, 2, 124; Σμινθίνος, *I. G. XII*, 2, 6, 36; Σμινθία, *Ath. Mitth.* 1884, 28 (Cyzicus); Σμινθων *I. G. XII*, 3 M 1139; Σμίνθιος in Pisidia, *Pap. Am. School* III, 298. Σμυσίων in Chios, Wilamowitz, *Nordionische Steine*, 1909, 70 (690 B. C.) Sminthian contests in Roman times at Alexandria in the Troad, Le Bas-Waddington, 1730 b. *Ath. Mitth.* 1896, 134, Rhodian month, on amphora. Cf. *I. G. III*, 1197; Aratus V, 2, 5, 324 Maass; *C. I. L.* XI, 6362, Dessau, 7364.

<sup>10</sup> *I. G.* XIV, 2393, 301.

<sup>11</sup> *I. G.* XIV, 2393, 134.

<sup>12</sup> *I. G.* XIV, 2393, 117.

<sup>13</sup> *C. I. G.* III, 5751, 36.

<sup>14</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi*. 1892, 487, 489, Month.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Farnell, *Cults* IV, 166 b.

Farnell has suggested that the earliest Hellenic home of the cult was in Tenedos, where Homer places it.<sup>16</sup> The sites in the Troad where the god was known, are Alexandraia,<sup>17</sup> Hamaxitos,<sup>18</sup> Larissaia,<sup>19</sup> Parion,<sup>20</sup> and Chryse,—not so many as Strabo's phrase, ἄλλοθι πολλαχού, would indicate. Apollo Smintheus was also honored in communities which had colonies in the Troad, as, for example, in Lesbian Arisba,<sup>21</sup> and Methymna,<sup>22</sup> and at Magnesia.<sup>23</sup> No record of his cult is preserved on the mainland, except at Athens<sup>24</sup> and Thespieae. Ceos near the coast seems also to have had an important center of worship.<sup>25</sup>

In epic times the cult of Apollo Smintheus still survived with some persistence in the Troad. Its point of departure was Crete and it was introduced into the Troad by Cretans or by semi-Hellenic settlers in pre-Aeolic times,<sup>26</sup> a fact which may help to account for the Trojan sympathies of Apollo in the siege of Troy. Gruppe brings the god from the Philistine land *via* Crete, just as he does in the case of Delphinios, connecting the foundation legend of Hamaxitos with the ancient tradition, Σμίνθοι γὰρ παρὰ Κρησὶν οἱ μύες<sup>27</sup> which he claims reached Crete from the Philistine land.

With the "Hellenic" Apollo, Smintheus has little in common, but the importance of his worship in Epic times shows the extent of Cretan influence at this period. His attributes

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Strabo, 604, *supra.*; *Il.* I, 37 ff; Head, *H. N.* 550-1.

<sup>17</sup> *C. I. G.* II, 3582; *Rev. Arch.* XI, 448; Paus. X, 12, 6 (sacred grove of Smintheus.)

<sup>18</sup> Strabo XIII, 605; cf. Aelian, *N. A.* XII, 5.

<sup>19</sup> Strabo, 605.

<sup>20</sup> Strabo, 605.

<sup>21</sup> Tümpel, *Philol.* XLIX, [N. F. III], 103 f. (1890); cf. XLVIII (1889), II.4; Plut., *Conv. Sept. Sap.*, 20.

<sup>22</sup> *C. I. G. I.* II, 519.

<sup>23</sup> Kern., *Arch. Anz.* 1894, 79; cf. month Σμυσίων.

<sup>24</sup> *C. I. A.* II, 1597; *Gr. Dialektinschr.*, 1181 A. 29; *Ath. Mitth.* 1911, 351 (Σμίνθος in Arcadia, IV C.); *I. G.* VII, 1888 Σμίνθος θεσπιεύς at Thespieae.

<sup>25</sup> Strabo, 487.

<sup>26</sup> The evidence on the mainland is too slight to believe that the Aeolians brought the Sminthian Apollo with them.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Strabo, *s. v.* *Hamaxitos* for legends of founding.



are the bow and the power of prophecy. His cult probably arose from his interest in protecting the crops from the ravages of field mice. Warde Fowler has shown that certain regions in Greece are still subject to the destruction which these animals accomplish with almost incredible swiftness. The god who could protect the sole wealth of the land against such havoc naturally became of paramount importance in the worship of the community. With these same mice, the plague may also have been brought among men, as is the case in China to-day, where the bubonic plague is commonly known as the "rat plague"; and we have some proof that the ancients recognized such a possibility.<sup>28</sup> The cult may thus have embraced the idea of healing, that is to say, Apollo appears here as *ιατρός*, as well as in the capacity of protector of the fields.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Gildersleeve's note in Robinson's Review of Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States*, *A. J. P.* 1908, 97 ff: A coin in the Br. Mus. of the Emperor Verus struck at Pergamum during a plague epidemic represents Asklepios with a rat at his feet and a small human figure with arms outstretched in the attitude of fear and worship. Cf. *C. R.* 1901, 319—Lang.

#### ΑΜΥΚΛΑΙΟΣ.

Our evidence for the cult of Apollo ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ, is somewhat vague, but it is worth while to examine it. The name Ἀμυκλαῖος is itself difficult to explain. We are safe in asserting that it is non-Greek,<sup>1</sup> but whether it is a Greek formation of the Phoenician name Mikal, as might appear from Cyprian inscriptions, or belongs to the pre-Greek Aegean population,

<sup>1</sup> Fick, *V. O.* 91, 113. *C. B.* 59, 3 = *C. I. Sem.* I, 89: Βαάλαμ ὁ Ἀβιδμίλων τῷ Ἀπόλωνι τῷ Ἀμύκλῳ (or Ἀμυκλοῖ ?) date, 375. In the Phoenician text the god is called Rešef-Mikal. cf. *C. I. Sem.* I, 90-94. In another inscription (*Rev. Arch.* XXVII (1874), 90), Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀμυκλαίῳ.



or has Etruscan connections,<sup>2</sup> is a problem difficult to determine. Foucart claims that the word is merely the Greek rendering of Rešef-Mikal,<sup>3</sup> the name of a Phoenician god. He bases his conclusion on a bilingual Phoenician-Greek inscription from Idalion, Cyprus. The various Greek explanations of words which have the same root furnish no clue,<sup>4</sup> e. g., Hesych., s. v. ἀμυκλίς: γλῶσσος ἡδύς, (a drink used at the Hyacinthian festival); ἀμυκλαΐδες, "a kind of shoe"; ἀμυκλαί, Hesych., "arrow points." The eponymous hero of Spartan Amyklai, Amyklas, is a shadowy figure, who adds no information, although he appears in many old Laconian genealogies.<sup>5</sup> The legend recorded by Tzetzes on Lyc. 431, might have value, but the account is confused and the variant ἀμύζου appears for ἀμύζου. According to this report, Ἀμύζου, (in this form a non-Greek name), was the son of Cretan Talos and an enemy of Idomeneus. Further than the evidence given, nothing of import is known about the word Amyklaios.

There were two important cult centers of Apollo Amyklaios. In Crete proper, a sea-port town bore the name Amyklaion,<sup>6</sup> and the residents of the town were called Amyklaioi.<sup>7</sup> Gortyn had a month known as Amyklaios,<sup>8</sup> and we see from the law of Gortyn<sup>9</sup> that the god was worshipped in that city. Although the name Apollo does not appear in the inscription, there is no doubt that he is the god who must be associated here with Artemis. The second important center where the name appears is Amyklai in Sparta, where there was a famous pre-

<sup>2</sup> K. Schmidt, *B. P. W.* 1906, 1650. Amunclae, Latium, Ἀμοῦγκλα, N. Africa; P. W. I, 1980, 34; Verg. *Aen.* X, 564; Pliny, *N. H.* VIII, 104.

<sup>3</sup> B. C. H. VII (1883), 513.

<sup>4</sup> Pollux VII, 88; Hesych. s. v.; Theocr., *Id.* X, 35; E. M. 87, 41.

<sup>5</sup> P. W. II, 1999 s. v. Amyklas (Hiller von Gärtringen); Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀμύκλαι. Paus. III, 1, 3; VII, 18, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀμύκλαι, 88, 3; Preller, *Gr. Myth.* I, 250, 1; Halbherr, *Mus. Ital.* III, 717.

<sup>7</sup> C. B. 5025, 4, 18.

<sup>8</sup> C. B. 5016, 24; *Mon. dei Lincei* I, 50.

<sup>9</sup> C. B. 4991, III, 7, Ἀρτεμὶς παρ' Ἀμυκλαίων παρ' τὰς Τάσσιαν. Cf. *Rh. M.* XL, 21. Bücheler prefers to think of an Amyklaios, because of preposition παρὰ. Cf. *Ath. Mitth.* IX (1884), 376.

cinct, the Amyklaion.<sup>10</sup> Pausanias has furnished us with a description of the sanctuary, and the excavations of Tsountas have given some information in regard to the site. The antiquity of the settlement is proved by the discovery of Mycenaean remains.<sup>11</sup> From Sparta, the cult passed to Cyprus, perhaps also to Epidaurus.

What we may conclude about the epithet Amyklaios, is as follows: it is not a cult epithet, but a title derived from a place name,<sup>12</sup> and the localities in which it appears were Cretan or under strong Cretan influence. We may choose between two conclusions to explain the relations between Spartan Amyklai, and the site bearing the same name in Crete, as the god worshipped in both places is the same and we have proof that there was intercourse between the two regions in Homeric times.<sup>13</sup> Either the name was taken over from the Peloponnese to Crete or the name was original in Crete and was transferred from there to the mainland. If the name is pre-Greek, which we cannot prove, although there is strong evidence in favor of the theory, Spartan Amyklai would almost certainly owe its origin to Crete. There are several arguments that support this view. The god appears to have had an important worship in Crete and in Sparta, the cult center belongs in the Mycenaean circle, as excavations have shown; the site of Vaphio, not far distant, is also proof that this region was overrun by men of the Aegean stock. Further, the worship at Amyklai was in the hands of the Achaeans, whose position in Aegean civilisation, although not definitely known, is in any case intimately con-

<sup>10</sup> Thucyd. V, 18, 10; V, 23, 5 στήλην δὲ ἑκατέρους στήσαι τὴν μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι παρ' Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ. Strabo, 278 συνέκειτο μὲν δὴ τοῖς Ὑακινθίοις ἐν τῷ Ἀμυκλαίῳ συντελουμένου τοῦ ἁγῶνος; Paus. III, 16, 2; 18, 8; 19; Polybios V, 19, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Tsountas, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1891, 1-26; Inscr. Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ 1892, 18. Hogarth, *Ionians and the East*, 35. Late Aegean sherds were found on the site of the Amyklaion and Laconian geometric sherds above; *I. G.* IV, 1078 (Epidaurus).

<sup>12</sup> Thucyd. V, 23, 4; 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, (Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν Ἀμυκλαίῳ). Cf. also Hyakinthos, himself called Ἀμυκλαίος, Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XI, 365; XII, 160.

<sup>13</sup> *Odys.* III, 286; cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀμύκλαι; Aly, *op. c.*, 12.

nected with Minoan culture. By some writers the Achaeans are thought to be a mainland branch of the Minoan race; by others, one of the invading northern tribes. We accept the theory that the Achaeans were a northern race of Greek origin who helped to loot and destroy the Minoan sites and then established themselves on the mainland at Mycenae and at other centers, where a people akin to the Minoan race lived.<sup>†</sup> The downfall of the island kingdom may be traced primarily to civil strife between these pre-Greek peoples of the mainland and their kinsmen in Crete; it was hastened and effected by the incoming tribes from the North. The invading Achaeans took over this Minoan civilisation in its decay. We may believe that they found the site of Amyklai inhabited by their non-Greek predecessors and wedged their way in there, just as they did at Mycenae. Another argument in favor of the view that Spartan Amyklai was a Cretan foundation is the characteristic practice of the Minoans of repeating their place names in new localities which they settled. There was an Ida in Crete and one in Troy; there were a very great number of towns and islands called Minoa, undoubtedly derived from Crete; there was a Mt. Aigaion in Crete and one at Delphi, and in both of these places there was a Korycian site. In fact one might multiply these examples to include a large number of place names.<sup>14</sup> Finally, the god who was at home in Spartan Amyklai and whom Apollo displaced, was the pre-Dorian, non-Greek Hyakinthos. The name belongs to the class of words in *-υθος* which were discussed under the cult of Smintheus and which have been

<sup>†</sup> Evans, *J. H. S.*, 1912, 283, "We must clearly recognize that down to at least the 12th c. B. C. the dominant factor both in mainland Greece and the Aegean world was still non-Hellenic and must be identified with one or other branch of the old Minoan race. This does not say that even at the time of the first appearance of Minoan conquerors in the Peloponnese, i. e. the 16th c. B. C., they may not have found settlers of Hellenic stock already in the land."

<sup>14</sup> Miletos in Crete and Asia Minor; Chrysa, Crete and Troad. Cf. Aly, *op. c.*, 55, relations between Crete and Thessaly; Gruppe, *op. c.*, 109; Malten, *Kyrene*, 126. Cf. *ib.* 137 and Evans, *J. H. S.* 1912, 284, 288, for an opposite view.

held to belong to the pre-Hellenic population.<sup>15</sup> If we enumerate the cult centers of Apollo Hyakinthos, we find that the month Hyakinthos is vouched for in many of the islands. Sicily in particular has a record of this month at Akrai,<sup>16</sup> Eryx,<sup>17</sup> Katana,<sup>18</sup> Leontini,<sup>19</sup> Gela and Syracuse,<sup>20</sup> and we find cult associations at Rhegium<sup>21</sup> and Tarentum<sup>22</sup> nearby. The name is also found at Kos,<sup>23</sup> Rhodes,<sup>24</sup> Tenos,<sup>25</sup> Thera<sup>26</sup> and Anaphe.<sup>27</sup> Athens celebrated the festival of the Hyakinthia<sup>28</sup> and Byzantium named a month after the god.<sup>29</sup> Finally, the god is vouched for in Crete under the form βακινθιος at Lato.<sup>30</sup>

The original character of Hyakinthos is uncertain. Gruppe connects the name with βεω and considers the god a chthonian rain-deity of Amyklai,<sup>31</sup> whom Apollo superseded. The appearance of the goat beside the god on Spartan coins is accepted in support of this theory.<sup>32</sup> Farnell believes that Hyakinthos was a chthonian deity of vegetation, worshipped with gloomy ritual and ἐναγίσματα, the offerings to the dead.<sup>33</sup> He accepts the meaning "young" for the root of the word. The representation of Hyakinthos on the Amyklaean throne was that of

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Kretschmer, *Einl.* 402; Rohde, *Psyche* I, 137.

<sup>16</sup> *I. G.* XIV, 2393, 200; 2393, 178, l. 14, 32.

<sup>17</sup> *I. G.* XIV, 2393, 12; 2393, 33; 2393, 344; 2393, 451; 2393, 465.

<sup>18</sup> *I. G.* XIV, 2393, 168; 2393, 484; 2393, 543; 2393, 105.

<sup>19</sup> *I. G.* XIV, 2393, 247 and 316.

<sup>20</sup> *I. G.* XIV, 2393, 68; 2393, 316; 2393, 380; 2393, 465.

<sup>21</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1892, 489.

<sup>22</sup> Polyb. VIII, 28, 2 (Grave of Hyakinthos).

<sup>23</sup> Paton & Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, 367, 368.

<sup>24</sup> *I. G.* XII, 1, 155 c 85.

<sup>25</sup> Phyle, Ὑακινθίαις, *I. G.* XII, v, 872.

<sup>26</sup> *I. G.* XII, III, 436. Cf. *Hermes* XXV, 405.

<sup>27</sup> Festival, Hyakinthia, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. II, 1840, 477. Cf. Phot., Suid., *s. v.* παρθένου.

<sup>28</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1884, 170, 52.

<sup>29</sup> Schol. Pap. 6.

<sup>30</sup> *B. C. H.* XXIX (1905), 204, 67; Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, 139 n.

<sup>31</sup> Hesych. *s. v.* βακίζει

<sup>32</sup> Welcker, *Kl. Schr.* I, 24; Wide, *op. c.* 89, connects the goat with the Aigeadaí at Amyklai; cf. Pindar, *Isthm.* VII, 14; Busolt I<sup>2</sup>, 207, 8. The Aigeadaí thus worked rain magic by means of goat sacrifices. Gruppe, *op. c.*, 833, 1. Cf. B. M. C. *Pelop.*, 121, Pl. 24, 1.

<sup>33</sup> Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 127. Cf. Paus. III, 19, 3. For *agalma*, cf. III, 19, 2.



a bearded man, which does not accord wholly with this view. We find little that is common to the two gods, Apollo and Hyakinthos. The ritual of the Hyakinthia shows that Hyakinthos was worshipped with nocturnal under-world rites of a character wholly alien to Apollo.<sup>34</sup> The element which would especially mark the festival as non-Apolline and non-Greek in character is the part which the women played. They wove a chiton for the god,<sup>35</sup> entered the chariot races, and took part in the nocturnal *xāmos*. A woman is spoken of as president for life of the *Agon* of the Hyakinthia.<sup>36</sup> These functions may be considered to belong to the pre-Apolline period, nor is Dionysos with his nocturnal bands of women needed to solve the problem. The important part played by women in this pre-Dorian cult of Hyakinthos with its Cretan associations, noted under Amyklaios, recalls the very important role which women played in the religion of Crete. This is brought out by numerous cult scenes on rings and by the small wall-painting from Knossos, now in the Museum in Candia,<sup>37</sup> where a great crowd of women are seen grouped about one of the small pillar shrines with its sacred horns. The Aegean religion seems to have been

<sup>34</sup> Athen. IV, 139 D. Πολυκράτης ἐν τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς ἱστορεῖ ὅτι τὴν μὲν τῶν Ὑακινθίων θυσίαν οἱ Λάκωνες ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας συντελοῦσι καὶ διὰ τὸ πένθος τὸ γενόμενον περὶ τὸν Ὑάκινθον οὐτε στεφανοῦνται ἐπὶ τοῖς δεῖπνοις οὔτε ἄρτον εἰσφέρουσιν οὔτε ἄλλα πέμματα καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ἀκόλουθα διδάσκει. καὶ τὸν ἐς τὸν θεὸν παιᾶνα οὐκ ἔδουσι, οὐδ' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον [εἰσάγουσιν] οὐδὲν καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις θυσίαις ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐταξίας πολλῆς δειπνήσαντες ἀπέρχονται. τῇ δὲ μέσῃ τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν γίνεται θεὰ ποικίλη καὶ πανήγυρις ἀξιολόγος καὶ μεγάλη. παῖδες τε γὰρ κιθαρίζουσιν ἐν χιτῶσιν ἀνεζωσμένοι καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν ἄδοντες πάσας ἅμα τῷ πλήκτρῳ τὰς χορδὰς ἐπιτρέχοντες ἐν ρυθμῷ μὲν ἀναπαίστῳ μετ' ὀξέος δὲ τόνου τὸν θεὸν ἄδουσι, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐφ' ἱππῶν κεκοσμημένοι τὸ θέατρον διεξέρχονται, χοροὶ τε νεανίσκων παμπληθεῖς εἰσέρχονται καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰ ποιημάτων ἄδουσιν ὀρχησθαί τε ἐν τούτοις ἀναμεμγμένοι τὴν κίνησιν ἀρχαϊκὴν ὑπὸ τὸν αὐλὸν καὶ τὴν ὥδην ποιοῦνται. τῶν δὲ παρθένων αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ καννάθρων [καμαρωτῶν ξυλίνων ἁρμάτων] φέρονται πολυτελῶς κατασκευασμένων αἱ δ' ἐφ' ἀμύλλαις ἁρμάτων ἐξευγμένων πομπευοῦσιν. ἅπασα δ' ἐν κητῇ καὶ χαρᾷ τῆς θεωρίας ἡ πόλις καθέστηκεν, ἱερεῖά τε παμπληθῆ θύουσι τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, καὶ δειπνίζουσιν οἱ πόλιται πάντας τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς ἰδίους.

<sup>35</sup> Paus. III, 16, 2.

<sup>36</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1892, 19.

<sup>37</sup> J. H. S., 1901, Pl. V. A newly discovered fresco from Tiryns represents women in chariots taking part in a boar hunt. Evans, J. H. S. 1912, 282.



characterized throughout by the prominent rôle played by women.

The ritual of the Hyakinthia cited above, is preserved in part by Athenaeus, who quotes his account from Polykrates. The festival was one of sorrow for the dead Hyakinthos, but that it was gloomy throughout is less certain. The first day was certainly given to mourning. On the second, according to Polykrates, there was rejoicing. In the opinion of Polykrates, the festival lasted three days. Most scholars, however, reject his statement in regard to the length of the festival and the order of the days, since an account by Herodotus<sup>38</sup> makes the festival last ten days. Many modern scholars would assign the joy and song to Apollo, in which case, if we follow Polykrates, we have the strange combination of one festal day to Apollo coming between two days of mourning for Hyakinthos. There is no reason why we should not accept the authority of Polykrates for the original festival in honor of Hyakinthos, which was later extended to do honor to the god Apollo. The second day of rejoicing was probably concerned with the resurrection of Hyakinthos, to which Nonnus refers<sup>39</sup> when he speaks of a singer who sang of the resurrection of the god Ἀμυκλαίῳ τινὶ θεσμῷ. In addition, Pausanias says that on the throne at Amyklai was represented the apotheosis of Hyakinthos and his sister Polyboia, and this feature of the legend doubtless played an important part in the ritual. We know also from Euripides<sup>40</sup> that the original festival had other elements which were not sorrowful, for the nightly revelling can hardly be assigned to Apollo. Hyakinthos in this light appears as a deity of vegetation whose death and rebirth were celebrated in this festival.

One other point remains to be discussed under the head of Apollo Amyklaios—Hyakinthos. Pausanias, in the passage

<sup>38</sup> Hdt. IX, 7, 1; IX. 11.

<sup>39</sup> Nonnus, XIX. 101. Cf. Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 265<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Eur., *Hel.*, 1465.

cited above, states that within the sanctuary at Amyklai was an elaborate throne, upon which stood a semi-aniconic image of Apollo wearing a helmet and armed with a spear; beneath the throne was the tomb of Hyakinthos. The throne itself has been thought to preserve in its architectural form a likeness to similar Aegean structures.<sup>41</sup> With regard to the statue, Evans sees in its semi-aniconic form<sup>42</sup> the survival of the pyramidal pillar under which the pre-Hellenic light god of the Aegean was worshipped. At Amyklai, the partly aniconic image of this pre-Dorian divinity, armed with the spear, was associated with a goddess represented under a similar form and known as the armed Aphrodite—on her Hellenic side indistinguishable from Dione.<sup>43</sup> This pre-Hellenic light-god was taken over by the Greeks of Laconia and Cyprus into their worship. The spear in the hand of the god Apollo indicates a survival of the cult of this warrior god of the heavens, who is depicted on rings from Knossos. In fact, Evans recognizes this divinity as the prototype of the Amyklean Apollo.<sup>44</sup>

Our evidence for the cult of Apollo Amyklaios, briefly summarized, is as follows. We probably have here a place name which was adopted by Apollo as an epithet and which points to Crete as its original home. This god, Apollo Amyklaios, was represented by a semi-aniconic image, a type which dates from a remote antiquity, and which preserves a reminiscence of the time when the divinity was worshipped under the likeness of a pyramidal pillar. In fact the cult of Apollo at Amyklai and his female associates are a direct offshoot of the Mycenaean religion. But Apollo was not the original deity at Amyklai and the only other pre-Hellenic gods of whom we have record there are

<sup>41</sup> R. v. Lichtenberg: *Die Ägäische Kultur*, Leipzig, 1911. Cf. Reichel, *Vorhell. Götterkulte*, 88.

<sup>42</sup> Evans, *M. T. & P. C.* (*J. H. S.* 1901, 120, 173).

<sup>43</sup> Br. Mus. Cat. *Peloponnese*. Pl. XXIV; Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, Coin Plate A, 15, 16.

<sup>44</sup> *M. T. & P. C.*, 170, fig. 48; 174, fig. 50. Otherwise, Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 144.

Karneios<sup>45</sup> and Hyakinthos. Because of the termination of the name, Hyakinthos must be relegated to the older order of religion. His cult is vouched for in Crete by the word, *βακίνθιος*. The fact that offerings were made to him before sacrificing to Apollo, furnishes additional proof of his priority over the latter god. Apollo took over the cult of Hyakinthos and appropriated a part in his ritual, but he was forced to keep the tomb of the older god beneath his throne and to sanction offerings to him before sacrifices were made in his own honor.

<sup>45</sup> Bennett, *Religious Cults Associated with the Amazons*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1912, 45-6; 51. According to this writer, Karneios was a pre-Dorian divinity of prophecy whom the Hellenes identified with Apollo. "Apollo Amyklaïos, like Karneios, was conceived as a warrior and god of fertility and in general seems to have been identical with the prophet archer worshipped in Asia and Crete."

#### AGYIEUS.

The cult of Apollo Agyieus belongs to the earliest period of Apolline worship<sup>1</sup> and has Cretan associations which suggest that Crete may have been the original home of this worship. Here again, as in the case of Apollo Pythios and Delphinios, Delphi and Crete stand in close relation.

The earliest Delphic legend concerned with the name Agyieus betrays its antiquity by its Hyperborean associations: the Hyperboreans, Pagasus and divine Agyieus, establish the oracle for Phoibos.<sup>2</sup> In Crete, the name is attested by the month Agyios.<sup>3</sup> A month at Delphi was also named after the

<sup>1</sup> Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 149-50, 162.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. X, 5, 8, πεποίηκε δὲ ἡ βοῖά τοιάδε:

Ἐνθα τοι εὐμνηστον χρηστήριον ἐκτελέσαντο  
Παῖδες Ὑπερβορέων Παγασὸς καὶ διὸς Ἀγνιεύς.

(On month, Wescher-Foucart, *Inscr. Récentes à Delphes*, 178, 405.)

<sup>3</sup> Hemerol. Flor. in Idler, *Chron.* I, 426. Dittenberger, *Hermes* XVI (1881), 168 A. (Hyperberetes also attested.) *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 514, 29.

god, *Ἀγύειος*. Most important is the cult emblem or *ἄγαλμα* of the Agyieus worship.<sup>1</sup> We learn from Harpocration that this was a conical pillar placed before the house doors. This cult form suggests that Apollo has been attracted into the Minoan circle of pillar worship discussed above.<sup>2</sup> The name *ἀγυεῖος*, given both to the pillar and to the god, is an evidence of the primitive stage when pillar and god were not distinguished. It is possible that in pre-Homeric times various divinities were worshipped under this aniconic image, but the antiquity of the Agyieus cult, coupled with its appearance in Crete in the name of the month, is evidence in favor of Cretan priority. The Delphic Omphalos has been held by some writers to be a direct imitation of this Cretan form of *ἄγαλμα*,<sup>3</sup> and Photius mentions one form which resembled an omphalos.<sup>4</sup> The worship of the god was especially associated with the Dorians<sup>5</sup> according to many writers, but they may have taken the worship over from Crete.<sup>6</sup> It is noteworthy that Athens had an important cult of this god, which cannot be traced to the Dorians.

<sup>1</sup> Harpocr. *s. v.* *ἀγυῖας*; Hesych. *s. v.* *ἀγυεῖος*; P. W. I, 909.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Evans, *M. T. & P. C.*, 173.

<sup>3</sup> Gruppe, *op. c.*, I, 103, 4; Evans, *op. c.*, 173; J. Six, *Ath. Mitth.* 1894, 344.

<sup>4</sup> Phot., *Bibl.* 535 (Fr. 48).

<sup>5</sup> Harpocr., *l. c.*, O. Müller, *Die Dor.* I, 299 (Tr.).

<sup>6</sup> On cult localities, cf. P. W. "Apollon" II, 42.

#### TARRHAIOS.

Apollo derived the epithet Tarrhaios from Tarrha, a small town in western Crete, with which he had close relations.<sup>1</sup> The circle of influence which Tarrha exerted was once of fair

<sup>1</sup> Steph. Byz. 604, 5, *s. v.* *Τάρρα*. *πόλις Λυδίας . . . ἕτερα Κρήτης, ἐν ᾗ Ταρραῖος Ἀπόλλων τιμᾶται.*

importance. Tarrhaïos was the father of the eponymous hero of Lappa.<sup>2</sup> This latter city was said to be a foundation of Agamemnon and there was a city of the same name in the Argolid, which furnishes additional proof of early relations between the Peloponnese and western Crete. Tarrha also belonged to a league which issued a coinage of its own and to which the cities Elyros, Lissos, Hyrtakina, Syia and Poikilassos belonged. The coinage bears a goat's head on one side, a bee on the other, recalling, in Aly's opinion, the legend of the children of Apollo and Akakallis cared for by the goat.<sup>3</sup> This Akakallis was an important goddess of western Crete and it is very probable that Apollo drove out an old lord who reigned beside her.

<sup>2</sup> Steph. Byz. 410, 6, s. v. Λάμπη.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Paus. X, 16, 5; Aly, *op. c.*, 43.

#### MINOR CULTS AND ASSOCIATIONS.

Several cults of lesser importance belonging to Apollo point to Crete as their original home, but because of absence of evidence, little is known of their significance. Apollo *Enauros* is mentioned by Hesychius<sup>1</sup> as a god of the early morning and the word is designated as a Cretan rendering of *πρωί*. Apollo *Styrakites*<sup>2</sup> was the god of the styrax plant, and had a cult in Crete. The cult of Apollo *Dromaïos* was perhaps a Cretan cult, as the god was so called in Sparta and Crete, either as god of the palaestra or because the priest representing him ran in the Karneia;<sup>3</sup> we know that in Sparta and Crete the

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. ἐναίρω. πρωί Κρήτες.

<sup>2</sup> Steph. Byz. 588, 16. Plut., *Lys.* 28<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Plut., *Quaest. Conv.* 724 c; *C. B.* 5040, 4; Paus. III, 14, 6; Cult at Amyklai, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1892, 26, 8.



race-course was called *δρομος*. Apollo *Thargelios* had Cretan associations, for the Thargelia were instituted to atone for the death of the Cretan Androgeos and originally had no connection with Apollo.<sup>4</sup> Apollo *Leschanorios* had a cult in Crete<sup>5</sup> at Gortyn, with many Thessalian associations. Most of these cults are merely names to us and when enumerated prove nothing for the development of the worship of Apollo. There are, however, two epithets which are associated with Apollo that would be of greater value for us if we could determine their origin, Phoibos and Karneios.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. "Cathartic Ritual."

<sup>5</sup> Aly, *op. c.*, 54 ff., *C. B.* 5015, 17, 27. Cf. Harpocr. *s. v.* *Δέσχαι*; Plut. *De Ei Ap. Delphos*, 385 C; there was a month *Δεσχανάσιος*, in Arcadia.

(A) **Phoibos.** The root of the word *Φοῖβος* contains two distinct ideas, that of prophecy and of ritual purity. Suidas, *s. v.*, explains *φοῖβος* as *μάντις*, and the term, *ἡ φοιβάζς*, is used of Kassandra by Euripides<sup>1</sup> to denote a woman inspired by enthusiastic frenzy.<sup>2</sup> The meaning "pure," is found particularly in Plutarch,<sup>3</sup> who says that the Thessalians used the word of those who kept themselves ritualistically pure. In Homer, *Φοῖβος* appears as an epithet or synonym of Apollo,<sup>4</sup> but there is no definite evidence for its appearance in the ritual of a cult. According to Farnell,<sup>5</sup> one must suppose that "Homer derived the term from some ancient cult or at least from popular phraseology that was consonant with cult." Apollo is said to have received the epithet Phoibos from Phoibe,

<sup>1</sup> Eur., *Hek.* 827. *ἡ Φοιβὰς, ἣν καλοῦσι Κασάνδραν Φρίγες*; Timotheos. Fr. I, *μανάδα, θνιάδα, φοιβάδα, λυσάδα*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *φοιβάζω*, "to utter prophetic words", *Anth. P.* IX, 525, 21; IX, 191; Lyc. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Plut., *De Ei Ap. Delph.* 20 c. *Φοῖβον δὲ δῆπον τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἄγνόν οἱ παλαιοὶ πᾶν ὠνόμαζον, ὥς ἐτι θεσσαλοὶ τοὺς ἱερέας ἐν ταῖς ἀποφράσιν ἡμέραις αὐτοῦς ἐφ' ἐαντῶν ἔξω διατρίβοντας, οἶμαι, 'φοιβονομεῖσθαι' λέγονσι.*

<sup>4</sup> Hom., *Il.* I, 443; XV, 221; XX, 68; Hes. Fr. 194 (213); Fr. 125 (109); Fr. 123 (148).

<sup>5</sup> Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 140.

one of the pre-Apolline deities at Delphi.<sup>6</sup> This Phoibe belonged to the Titan dynasty<sup>7</sup> and was the daughter of Earth and Heaven and the mother of Leto. She was thus one of the figures belonging to the older religion. A trace of her cult survived on the mainland at Amyklai, where sacrifices were offered to the war god in the Phoibaion<sup>8</sup> and where Herakles was said to have been purified. Apollo probably took over his title of Phoibos from this older divinity whom he succeeded. We have already noted that Amyklai had early relations with Crete and that its god Hyakinthos belonged to the Aegean religion; that the oracle at Delphi was closely connected with Crete has also been shown. Thessalian relations with Crete are noted by Aly<sup>9</sup>; there was influence in both directions, and we cannot definitely say that the Thessalians got the word from Crete. It seems probable that the Titan Phoibe belonged to this pre-Aegean cycle and was a divinity who had to do with purification and enthusiastic prophecy. Apollo Phoibos is thus concerned primarily with these two elements.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Aesch., *Eum*, 4 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Hes., *Theog.* 136; 404; Harrison, *Delphika*, J. H. S. 1899, 241. "There are many indications that the name Phoibos belongs to the pre-Apolline stratum, the stratum of Gaia and Kronos-Ouranos." Cf. Hesych. s. v. *Γαῖδα Φοίβην*.

<sup>8</sup> Paus. III, 14, 9; III, 20, 2; Harrison, *Themis*, 388, on Phoibe as Moon.

<sup>9</sup> Aly, *op. c.*, 55.

<sup>10</sup> Harrison, *Themis*, 384-92, "Apollo Phoibos as Sun."

(B) **Karneios.** An investigation of the Karneia<sup>1</sup> reveals the fact that Apollo Karneios was mainly concerned with herds and with agriculture. His cult in the Peloponnese is believed by many to be pre-Dorian and the conjectures as to its origin are numerous. Wide<sup>2</sup> argued that the cult was not really Dorian but was brought in from the North by a Minyan immigration.

<sup>1</sup> Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 259.

<sup>2</sup> Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, 86-87, denying its military character.

Non-Minyan settlements, however, possessed cults of the god, in the Argolis, at Sikyon, and Phlius, and there is no trace of Karneios in northern Minyan strongholds such as Orchomenos. Farnell holds that the god belonged to the Dryopian population and points out certain traces of Dryopian settlements in the regions where the cult of Karneios was found. More recently, the god has been identified with the prophet-archer of Asia and Crete<sup>3</sup> and has been shown to be related to the Phrygian god of prophecy.

Pausanias says that Karnos was from Crete, the son of Europa and Zeus, foster child of Apollo and Leto;<sup>4</sup> Knossos named a month *Kαρνηϊος* after the god and Gortyn appears to have done the same.<sup>5</sup> It must be admitted, however, that our knowledge of Apollo Karneios is very vague and that because of the indefinite nature of our information it is possible to attribute the cult to the Minyan, Dryopian or Cretan population. The case cannot be proven for any one of these peoples. The god had in common with the "Phrygian" Apollo, prophetic power and a martial character as god of the bow. The evidence from the name Karnos and the month in Crete, is very slight, and one is inclined with Aly to leave this deity to the Dorians.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Bennett, *Religious Cults Associated with the Amazons*, 45, 51.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. III, 13, 4.

<sup>5</sup> C. B. 5015, 5: 5009 b.

<sup>6</sup> Aly, *op. c.*, 8-10, following Wilamowitz; Malten, *B. P. W.* 1910, 334; E. Meyer, *Gd. A.* II, 113, cult at Amyklai, relatively late contamination. For cult centers, cf. Wide, Roscher Lex s. v. Karneios.

### III. CATHARTIC ELEMENTS.

Cathartic ritual in Greece rose to a position of great importance in two ancient religious centers, Crete and Delphi. The history of the development of rites of purification does not appear to begin in Greece proper until the eighth century. The Homeric age is noticeably free from ceremonies of this character and we must either assume that the Olympian religion of this period suppressed such practices or believe that the Greeks were very late in developing rites dealing with purification. It is difficult to believe that these ceremonies were developed in post-Homeric times; they are found among so many primitive people that it does not seem probable that the pre-Homeric Greeks were without them. Further, there is much to be said in favor of the view that these practices were merely revived in the eighth century. Cathartic ritual was associated from earliest times with chthonian powers.<sup>1</sup> When it acquired Olympian associations, it was used in the cults of Apollo notably, of Zeus in his chthonian aspect, (Meilichios, Katharsios) and of Dionysus. In Homer the Olympian religion alone is emphasized and the chthonian powers are passed over as if non-existent. It naturally follows that there is no mention of the ritual which belonged to these deities. The fact remains that chthonian deities were revered in Homer's time and we shall notice later the probable causes which brought about a revival of the latent and partly suppressed ritual belonging to these under-world gods.

We have said that the important centers of purification in Greece, were Crete and Delphi. The evidence in regard to the cathartic ceremonies in Crete, the home of an older civilisation

<sup>1</sup> Rohde, *Psyche*, 1903, I, 273 ff.; Harrison, *op. c.*, 161-2; K. O. Müller, *Aesch. Eum.*, 139. On purification in Homer, *Il.* I, 313, *Odys.* II, 261 ff.; Usener, *Stoff des Gr. Epos, Sitzb. d. Wiener Ak. Phil. Hist. Kl.* 137, III 59 ff., saw in the episode of Thersites the traces of *καθαρτικός* ritual; Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, 289 ff.

and one from which these rites may have emanated, will be presented first.

The earliest traditions concerned with cathartic ritual in Crete are connected with the cult of chthonian Zeus.<sup>2</sup> In the worship of this god, Rohde believed that the roots of all later expiatory customs in Greece were to be found. From Crete they were spread throughout Greece through the agency of the Delphic oracle.<sup>3</sup> The name of the Cretan Epimenides was intimately associated with these rites. According to Plutarch, he was an initiate of the orgiastic cult of Zeus in Crete,<sup>4</sup> a νέος Κορύμφης, and Pausanias gives an account of his ritualistic sleep in the cave of Dictaeon Zeus before he purified the city of Athens.<sup>5</sup> This act of purification was accompanied by fasting<sup>6</sup> and ecstacy.<sup>7</sup> At its completion, Epimenides journeyed to other lands with his healing art, foretelling the future as an ecstatic prophet,<sup>8</sup> or even explaining the cause of past disasters, such as plagues.<sup>9</sup> Besides purifying Delos,<sup>10</sup> he cleansed Athens from the pollution contracted in connection with the conspiracy of

<sup>2</sup> Farnell, *op. c.*, I, 37 ff.; Rohde, *op. c.*, I, 272, 1. Eur., *Κρήτες*. Fr. 475, *ap.* Porphyry, *De Abst.* IV, 19. Orpheus (Rhapsod.) Fr. 183 (Ab.) Διὸ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ὀρφεὶ τὰ καθάρσια κομίζειν ὁ Ζεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης παρακελεύεται τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην, ἀντὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ τάττειν, εἰώθησαν, οἱ θεολόγοι. (Proclus, on Plato's *Timaeus*, I, 36 E) cf. Oracle in Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* V, 31, 2.

Φαιστοῦ καὶ Τάρρας ναῖται, Δίου τε πολύρρον  
Πυθῶν κέλομαι τελέειν Φοῖβου καθαρμὸν  
εὐαγέοντας . . .

K. O. Müller, *Proleg.*, 158 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Rohde, *op. c.*, II, 96.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *Sol.* 12; Strabo, 479, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Φαιστοῦ τὸν τοὺς καθαρμῶν ποιήσαντα διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν Ἐπιμενίδην φασὶν εἶναι. Diog. Laert. I, 115; Schol. Clem. Alex. IV, 103 (Klotz) ἱερεὺς Διὸς καὶ Ῥέας.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. I, 14 Ἐπιμενίδης Κνώσιος, ὃν ἐλθόντα εἰς ἄγρον κοιμᾶσθαι λέγουσιν εἰσελθόντα εἰς σπήλαιον. ὃ δὲ ὕπνος οὐ πρότερον ἀνέκκεν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἢ οἱ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος γενέσθαι καθεύδοντι καὶ ὕστερον ἔπη τε ἐποίει καὶ πόλεις ἐκάθηρεν ἄλλας τε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων.

<sup>6</sup> Rohde, *Gr. Rom.* 156 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Suidas, s. v. Ἐπιμενίδης. οὐ [Ἐπιμενίδου] λόγος, ὡς ἐξῆναι ἢ ψυχῇ ὁπότεν ἔθελε χρόνον καὶ πάλιν εἰσῆναι ἐν τῷ σώματι. Diog. Laert. I, 114; Max. Tyr. XVI, 1, ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου τῷ ἄντρῳ κείμενος ὑπνῷ βαθεῖ ἔτη συχνά.

<sup>8</sup> Plato, *Leg.* I, 642 D; Diog. Laert. I, 114.

<sup>9</sup> Arist., *Rhet.* III, 17.

<sup>10</sup> Plut., *Sept. Sap. Conv.* XIV, 158 A.



Cylon.<sup>11</sup> Plutarch, whose account is probably based on Aristotle, fixes the date of his appearance in Athens in the time of Solon<sup>12</sup> and although the existence of Epimenides, the time at which he lived, and his purification of Athens have all been considered fictions by various authorities of modern times, we have no reason to doubt his existence or his part in purifying the city.<sup>13</sup> Further, the account which Plutarch gives of his long sleep is not to be considered a fabrication, but an instance of a practice well known among primitive peoples where wonder-workers acquire powers of divination by incubation in a sacred place.<sup>14</sup> Epimenides must therefore be considered a priest ("new *koures*") who belonged to the cult of Zeus in Crete and who was "skilled in the technicalities of religion, especially as regards enthusiastic and mystic rites." The practices which he employed in the purifying of Athens doubtless date from very early times in Crete. We see that he also reformed the Athenian religion of Solon's time, especially the rites of women, doing away with many barbarous excesses which probably belonged to Bacchic orgies or to the older

<sup>11</sup> Aristot., 'Αθ. Πολ. 1, 3. Plut., Sol. 12. καὶ φόβοι τινὲς ἐκ δεισδαιμονίας ἅμα καὶ φάσματα κατεῖχε τὴν πόλιν, οἱ τε μάντιες ἄγῃ καὶ μασμοῖς δεομένους καθαρῶν προφαίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡγόρευον. Οὕτω δὲ μετὰ πεμπτος αὐτοῖς ἦκεν ἐκ Κρήτης Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ Φαίστιος . . . Ἐδόκει δὲ τις εἶναι θεοφίλης καὶ σοφὸς περὶ τὰ θεῖα τὴν ἐνθουσιαστικὴν καὶ τελεστικὴν σοφίαν. Διὸ καὶ παῖδα νύμφης ὄνομα βάλτης καὶ Κοῦρητα νέον αὐτὸν οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι προσηγόρευον. Ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ τῷ Σόλωνι χρησάμενος φίλῳ πολλὰ προσπυριργάσατο καὶ προωδοποίησεν αὐτῷ τῆς νομοθεσίας. καὶ γὰρ εὐσταλεῖς ἐποίησε τὰς ἱερουργίας καὶ περὶ τὰ πένθη πρῶτότερος θυσίας τινὰς εἰθὺς ἀναμίξας πρὸς τὰ κήδη, καὶ τὸ σκληρὸν ἀφελὼν καὶ το βαρβαρικὸν, ὃ συνέειχοντο πρότερον αἱ πλείσται γυναῖκες. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἱλασμοῖς τισι καὶ καθαρμοῖς καὶ ἰδρύσει κατοργιάσας καὶ καθοσιώσας τὴν πόλιν ὑπήκοον τοῦ δικαίου καὶ μᾶλλον εὐπειθῆ πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν κατέστησε . . . Ἐπιμενίδης μὲν οὖν μάλιστα θανυμασθεὶς καὶ χρήματα διδόντων πολλὰ καὶ τιμὰς μεγάλας τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐδὲν ἢ θαλλὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας αἰτησάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἀπῆλθεν. Suidas, s. v. Ἐπιμενίδης. ἐκάθηρε τὰς Ἀθήνας τοῦ Κυλωνίου ἀγους κατὰ τὴν μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδα (604-1), γηραιὸς ὢν. Diog. Laert., Vita Ep. I, 110.

<sup>12</sup> J. Wright, *Trans. A. P. A.* 1888, date of attempt by Cylon. Plato has disregarded chronology in *Leg.* 642, 698, by placing Epimenides in the year 500.

<sup>13</sup> Rohde, *op. c.*, II, 98, citing as cases in point our ignorance of the lives of Pythagoras and Pherekydes of Syros, whose existence we do not doubt because of lack of evidence.

<sup>14</sup> *Rh. M.* XXXIII (1878), 209. Cf. *Rh. M.* 1880, 157, 63; 1882, 465-8; (Rohde).

stratum of religion.<sup>15</sup> He is said to have founded the sanctuary of the Semnae and to have prepared a sanctuary for the nymphs. By some authorities, the founding of the Delphinion in Athens is believed to date from the period when he visited Athens.

Crete boasted another priest who performed purifications and belonged to a much earlier period. The name of Karmanor and his purification at his home in Tarrha of Apollo is woven into the myths of the god's entry into Delphi. According to a legend found in Pausanias<sup>16</sup> Apollo went to Karmanor for purification after he had slain the snake at Pytho. We should not undervalue the account because it does not appear before the time of Pausanias, nor is it necessary to believe with Mommsen in a change from *Κρῖσαιοι* to *Κρήσιοι* in the verse of Phemonoe which has been cited.<sup>17</sup> The practice in later times according to which the Delphic oracle summoned Epimenides and other Cretans in times of plague<sup>18</sup> when purification was needed, indicates that the cleansing of Apollo by Karmanor was the mythical prototype of these later purifications in Greece. The legend is also handed down by a Scholiast on Pindar, quoted above, this time with the name of Chrysothemis, son of Karmanor, substituted for that of the father. The legend of Apollo's purification at the hands of Karmanor wins additional weight by its Aeginetan associations.<sup>19</sup> According to Pausanias, Karmanor belonged to the Britomartis-Diktynna-

<sup>15</sup> Plut. *l. c.* Cf. 21; J. Harrison, *op. c.*, 400.

<sup>16</sup> Paus. II, 7, 7 'Απόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἀποκτείναντες Πύθωνα παρεγένετο εἰς τὴν Λιγυάλειαν καθαρῶν ἐνεκα. γενομένου δὲ σφίσι δέιματος ἐνθα καὶ τὴν Φόβον ὀνομάζουσι τὸ χωρίον, οἱ μὲν εἰς Κρήτην παρὰ Καρμάνορα ἀπετράποντο. Paus. X, 7, 2; Paus. X, 16, 5; Paus. X, 6, 7 (Verse of Phemonoe).

'Αγχοῦ δὴ βαρὺν ἰδὺν ἐπ' ἀνέρι Φοῖβος ἐφῆσει  
Σιντῇ Παρηνησοῖο. φόνον δὲ Κρήσιοι ἄνδρες  
χεῖρας ἀγιστεύουσι. τὸ δὲ κλέος οὐ ποτ' ὀλεῖται.

Schol. Pind., *Pyth. ὑπόθεσις* (Boeckh. 298) καθαρθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἀπόλλων τὸν τῆς δρακοντοκτονίας φόνον ἐν Κρήτῃ παρὰ Χρυσοθέμιδι, ἐκεῖθεν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Θεσσαλικά Τέμπη ἐνθεν μετεκομίσαστο τὴν δάφνην.

<sup>17</sup> Hiller Von Gärtringen, P. W. s. v. *Delphoi*; Mommsen, *Delphika*, 94; *Anmerk.*

<sup>18</sup> Thaletas to Sparta, Plut. *De Mus.* 42; Nymphaeos of Kydonia to Sparta, Ael. *V. H.* XII, 50.

<sup>19</sup> Paus. II. 30. 3.

Aphaia circle. There was also an important connection between Apollo Delphinios and this Aphaia, whose worship preserved some genealogical reminiscence of Karmanor. Doubtless the god traveled to Aegina as the cult brother of Aphaia,<sup>20</sup> carrying with him some cathartic ritual for bloodshed. Although definite proof for this ritual is not available, we have every reason to believe that such a ritual would have attached itself to Delphinios, who was essentially a god of the state in Crete, as inscriptions show, and who was allied with a community famous for its rites of purification; we know that such ceremonies were attached to the cult under which the court ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ, in Athens was founded.<sup>21</sup>

The Delphinion at Athens, which later gave its name to the law-court concerned with trial for justifiable homicide, was, according to tradition, founded by Aegeus, and was said to have been located in the place where the home of Aegeus stood.<sup>22</sup> It was from the beginning a center of purification. Theseus was tried in this court for the slaying of the Pallantids and Pausanias adds that before this time homicide was not considered justifiable. In this same place Theseus was freed from the pollution incurred by his act. Later he made an offering to Apollo in the Delphinion on his departure for Crete to atone for the death of the Cretan Androgeos. This Androgeos appears to have been a chthonian power from Crete, whose death was atoned for in the Thargelia by *συβάκχοι* or *φαρμακοί*.<sup>23</sup> Whether or not we believe that the ritual of the

<sup>20</sup> Plut., *l. c.* (s. Δελφίνιος cult).

<sup>21</sup> Pollux VIII, 119, τὸ ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ ἰδρῦσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰγέως λέγεται Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφινίῳ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι Δελφινίᾳ, ἐκρίθη δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πρῶτος Θησεὺς ἀφοσιούμενος τὸ ἅγος τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνηρημένων ληστῶν καὶ τῶν Παλλαντιδῶν, οὓς ὁμολογεῖ μὲν ἀποκτείναι, δικαίως δ' ἔφη τοῦτο δεδρακέναι. Cf. Paus. I, 28, 10.

<sup>22</sup> Plut., *Thes.* XII . . . ὅπου νῦν ἐν Δελφινίῳ τὸ περίφρακτόν ἐστιν, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ Αἰγέως φκεῖ . . . Plut., *Thes.* 18, Procession of maidens with Ἰκετηρία, showing purification customs in the Delphinia; Pollux VIII, 119.

<sup>23</sup> Hellad. in Photius, *Bibl.* 534 a 3 ff. ὅτι ἔθος ἦν ἐν Ἀθήναις φαρμακοὺς ἀγεῖν δύο, τὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ γυναικῶν πρὸς τὸν καθαρμὸν ἀγομένους, καὶ ὁ μὲν καθαρμὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν μελαίνας ἰσχάδας περὶ τὸν τράχηλον εἶχε, λευκάς δ' ἄτερος, συβάκχοι δὲ φησιν ὠνημάζοντο. τὸ δὲ καθάρσιον τοῦτο λοιμικῶν νόσων ἀποτροπιασμός ἦν, λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Ἀνδρόγεω τοῦ Κρητὸς οὗ τεθνηκότος ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις παρανόμως τὴν λοιμικὴν ἐνόησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι νόσον καὶ ἐκράτει τὸ ἔθος αἰεὶ καθαίρειν τὴν πόλιν τοῖς φαρμακοῖς.

*φαρμακός* arose in Crete, it is interesting to notice its early use in connection with a Cretan chthonian deity.<sup>21</sup> The festival of the Thargelia obviously did not originally belong to Apollo, but was appropriated by him.

From the evidence cited, we have reason to believe that the purification ceremonies at Delphi were Cretan in origin and were associated with the arrival in that place of Apollo Delphinios, that is, with the cult of the god whose worship we have traced to Crete. Further, Crete was the home of a certain class of wonder-workers, who, like Epimenides, purified by magic rites, or by *ἐπωδαί*, incantations with healing power. To this latter class belonged Thaletas, whom we shall have occasion to consider later. In fact, rites of purification must have played an important part in this island from earliest times, as the priests of Cretan Zeus were subject to certain ceremonies of purification. Eustathius (fr. 772, 3) in commenting on the Kuretes says that they were sorcerers and magicians. The dance of the Kuretes was itself accompanied by a clashing of shields which must have been employed for the averting of evil spirits, although mythology explained the act as an effort to drown the cries of the infant Zeus that Kronos might not hear. Finally, the early legends of Apollo's arrival in Delphi are associated with Tarrha, a remote corner of Crete, otherwise little known to us. That this small town must at one time have been an important center of worship is proved by the fact that it gave its name to a cult of Apollo, in which he was honored as Apollo Tarrhaïos. The further connection between Tarrha and Cretan Lappa proves that the town had a wider circle of influence, as has previously been shown.<sup>22</sup> The goddess in Tarrha passed under the name of Akakallis and Apollo attached himself to her cult, doubtless driving out an older deity. The legend concerned with relations between Delphi and Cretan Tarrha, though drawn from late sources,

<sup>21</sup> Gruppe, *op. c.*, I, 37; J. Harrison, *op. c.*, 100, "Crete was the home of ceremonies of purification;" cf. Hesych. *s. v.* *ἐπὶ Ἑλευσίνῃ*.

<sup>22</sup> On rites of purification at Tarrha, Paus. X, 16; II, 30.

undoubtedly represents an authentic association between these centers. It is interesting to note that Apollo does not come from Crete as a god of purification, but goes there to receive purification.

The rites of purification which Apollo adopted from Crete were primitive, and belonged to the pre-scientific stage of "medicine" and healing. They were especially employed for the averting of *μίασμα* in time of plague, and Aelian states that on such occasions aid was always summoned from without by the Lacedaemonians at the suggestion of the Delphic oracle.<sup>20</sup> But there must also have been some ritual in Crete for the cleansing of pollution arising from bloodshed, as the associations of Apollo Delphinios prove. This was the beginning from which the momentous advance in law, which recognized justifiable homicide, developed among the Greeks. The advance may have been gradual or due to some spontaneous movement within the religion, perhaps from Crete itself, for Epimenides appears to have been active in religious reform in Athens in the seventh century.

<sup>20</sup> Aelian, *V. H.* XII, 50, εἰ δὲ [Λακεδαιμόνιοι] πότε ἐδεήθησαν τῆς ἐκ Μουσῶν ἐπικουρίας ἢ νοσήσαντες ἢ παραφρονήσαντες ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον δημοσίᾳ πάθοντες. μετεπέμποντο ξένους ἄνδρας οἷον ἰατροὺς ἢ καθαρτὰς κατὰ πυνθόχρηστον. μετεπέμψαντό γε μὴν Τέρπανδρον καὶ Θαλήταν καὶ Τυρταῖον καὶ τὸν Κόδαντα Κᾶφνέα καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνα.



#### IV. MUSICAL ELEMENTS.

Crete played a very important part in the ritual connected with the worship of Apollo, by its contribution of musical elements. The artistic dance was of great prestige in the island, as we know from the dancing place of Ariadne, from Sappho's "Cretan women, who dance on the soft bloom of the grass," and from the dance of the Cretan Kuretes, the mailed priests of the cult of Zeus.<sup>1</sup> We know that the island produced some famous musicians, for Linos<sup>2</sup> and Thaletas were Cretans. Further, the seven-stringed lyre was in use in Crete, and the double flute, as we see them depicted on the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada.<sup>3</sup> In the composition of their music, the Cretans used certain rhythms which were original with them and to which they gave their name, the Cretic, and the Paemonic. In the discussion of these elements we shall begin with the hyporcheme, or mimetic dance, of which the Cretan character and origin is recognized by the ancients.

#### HYPORCHEME.

The distinguishing feature of the hyporcheme was the dance, which was an essential accompaniment of the song rendered.<sup>4</sup> It was a dance of mimetic character<sup>5</sup> concerned with depicting

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* XVIII, 590, Sappho, Fr. 54 f.; Eur., *Bacch.*, 120 ff.; Callim., *Hymn* I, 52 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., *De Mus.* IX; Steph. Byz. 106, 14 ἡ πάλαι Ἐλεύθερνα, Λίνου πατρίς.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. Antichi.*, XIX (1908), Pl. I; Lagrange, *La Crète Ancienne*, Paris, 1908, 62 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Proclus, 246, ὑπόρχημα τὸ μετ' ὀρχήσεως φθόγγον μῆλος ἐλέγετο . . . Εὐρετὰς δὲ τούτων λέγουσιν οἱ μὲν Κορυήτας, οἱ δὲ Πύρρον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως.

<sup>5</sup> Athen. I, 15 D.

in particular the myths associated with Kronos and the Titans, and with Leto.<sup>6</sup> We have definite evidence that the hyporcheme was Cretan in origin. Simonides says that it was called Cretan and Athenaëus in a discussion of the dance quotes the statement of Simonides, adding that both the hyporcheme and acrobatic tumbling were native in Crete. This form of art probably dated back to the earliest times in Crete, as it was employed in the cult of Zeus. The Kuretes are named by some writers as the inventors of the dance, by others the mother Rhea herself is mentioned.

On the shield that Hephaistos fashioned for Achilles was represented a dance, which Athenaëus calls a hyporcheme.<sup>7</sup> On this shield was wrought "a dancing place, like unto that which once in wide Knossos Daedalus wrought for Ariadne of the long tresses. There were youths dancing and maidens of costly wooing, their hands on one another's wrists. . . . And now they would run around with deft feet exceeding lightly as when a potter sitting by his wheel that fitteth beneath his hands maketh trial of it whether it run; and anon they would run in lines to meet each other. And a great company stood round the lovely dance in joy (and among them a divine minstrel was making music on his lyre) and through the midst of them, leading the measure, two tumblers whirled."

<sup>6</sup> Luc. *De Salt.* 37 ff., describes the various subjects rendered in the hyporcheme.

<sup>7</sup> Simon. X; Athen. IV, 181 b. ἅλλ' ὅπερ εἶπον ἡ τῶν ἀκροαμάτων εἰς τὸ σῶφρον τοῦτο συμπόσιον εἰσαγωγή παρέγγραφός ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ Κρητικοῦ χοροῦ μετεννεγμένη, περὶ οὗ φησιν ἐν Ὀλυμποῖᾳ (Σ 590). Cf. Σ 605.

ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις

τῷ ἱκελὸν οἶόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσσῷ εὐρείῃ

Δαίδαλος ἡσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ

ἐνθα μὲν ἦθεοι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι

ὄρχουντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχουσαι.

τοῖς μὲν οὖν Κρησὶν ἡ τε ὄρχησις ἐπιχώριος καὶ τὸ κυβιστᾶν (π 617) . . . ὅθεν καὶ Κρητικὰ καλοῦσι τὰ ὑπορχήματα. Κρήτα μὲν καλέουσι τρόπον, τό δὲ ὄργανον Μολοσσόν. (Sim. fr. 31.) Schol. Pind., *Pyth.* II, 127, p. 322, Boeckh: ἐνιοὶ μὲν οὖν φασὶ πρῶτον Κούρητας τὴν ἐνόπλιον ὀρχήσασθαι ὀρχησιν, αὐτοὺς δὲ Πύρριχον Κρήτα συντάξασθαι, Θαλήταν δὲ πρῶτον τὰ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπορχήματα, Σωσίβιος δὲ, τὰ ὑπορχηματικά μέλη πάντα Κρητικὰ λέγεσθαι. Luc., *De Salt.* 8 πρῶτον δὲ φασὶ ῥέαν ἡσθεῖσαν τῇ τέχνῃ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ μὲν τοὺς Κορύβαντας ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ τοὺς Κουρήτας ὀρχεῖσθαι κελεύει . . . οἱ γὰρ περιορχοῦμενοι διεσώσαντο αὐτῇ τὸν Δία . . . Hes. fr. 198 (44), Kouretes as dancers. Strabo X, 480.

From Crete the hyporcheme appears to have passed to Delos, for Lucian's account of the hyporcheme in Delos in later times accords with the account given above.<sup>8</sup> An early example of this mimetic dance was the γέρανος, or "crane dance," instituted by Theseus about the horned altar at Delos on his return from Crete.<sup>9</sup> This dance was supposed to represent the windings and turnings of the Labyrinth.

From the evidence cited, it is seen that the hyporcheme was of great antiquity in Crete. It must have antedated the Dorian invasion, because of its prominence in the cult of Rhea. The cycle of myths represented is one which the Dorians would have little interest in presenting in pantomime,<sup>10</sup> but there is no doubt that they promptly took over this form of dance and developed it in the worship of Apollo.

Another link which binds the hyporcheme to Crete is the name of Thaletas (Midd. 7th C.). That he was a Cretan writer of paens and hyporchemes ancient writers testify, although the place and date of his birth are in doubt.<sup>11</sup> He is credited with the second musical reform in Sparta.<sup>12</sup> According to a statement of Plutarch, which goes back to Pratinas, he was summoned by the Spartans on the advice of the Delphic oracle, to heal them of a plague with which they were afflicted. This he accomplished by means of his music.<sup>13</sup> He is asso-

<sup>8</sup> Luc., *De Salt.* c. 16; Athen. XIV, 628; cf. Pallat, *Fab. Ariad.* Berl. Diss. 1891 (crane dance).

<sup>9</sup> Luc. *De Salt.* 34; Plut., *Thes.* 21, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ἀποπλέων εἰς Δῆλον κατέσχε, . . . ἐχόρευσε μετὰ τῶν ἡϊθέων χορείαν, ἣν ἐτι νῦν ἐπιτελεῖν Δηλίους λέγονσι, μίμνηα τῶν ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ περιόδων καὶ διεξόδων ἐν τινι ρυθμῷ παραλλάξεις καὶ ἀνελίξεις ἔχοντι γινομένην. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ γένος τοῦτο τῆς χορείας ὑπὸ Δηλίων γέρανος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δικαίαρχος. Ἐχόρευσε δὲ περὶ τὸν Κερατῶνα βωμόν, ἐκ κεράτων συνηρμοσμένον εὐωνύμων ἀπάντων; Callim., *Hymn ad Ἀρ.*, 60, Altar of goats' horns collected by Artemis.

<sup>10</sup> Hoeck, *Kreta*, III, 351; Luc. *De Salt.* 37 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Plut. *De Mus.* X; Aristot. *Pol.* II, 12, p. 1274 a 28; Suidas s. v. Θαλήτας. (Knossos or Elyros); Paus. I, 14, 4 (Gortynian).

<sup>12</sup> Plut., *De Mus.* IX, τῆς δευτέρας δὲ [καταστασέως ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν] Θαλήτας ὁ Γορτύνιος . . . αἰτίαν ἔχουσιν ἡγεμόνες γενέσθαι.

<sup>13</sup> Plut., *De Mus.* 42, καὶ Θαλήταν τὸν Κρήτα, ὃν φασὶ κατὰ τι πινόχρηστον Λακεδαιμονίους παραγενόμενον διὰ μουσικῆς ἰάσασθαι ἀπαλλάξαι τε τοῦ κατεχόντος λοιμοῦ τὴν Σπάρτην, καθάπερ φησὶ Πρατίνης. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν κατασχόντα λοιμὸν τοὺς Ἑλληνας παύσασθαι λέγει διὰ μουσικῆς. Ael., *V. H.*, XII, 50.

ciated with the introduction of the hyporcheme into Sparta<sup>11</sup> and with the use of the Cretic and Paeonic rhythms, which had not been used by Archilochus, Orpheus or Terpander. His influence on the music of Sparta was so far reaching that it was spoken of as a *κατάστασις*.

It appears, therefore, that the hyporcheme was original in Crete, where it antedated the Dorian invasion. As a god of prophecy and healing, Apollo readily assimilated musical elements into the ritual of his cult. The hyporcheme was one of the earliest forms of music taken over by him and developed by the incoming Dorians. It remained for the Cretan Thaletas to make the hyporcheme famous in Dorian communities, introducing into his music the native Cretan meters, "the excited Cretic and the swifter Paeonic."

<sup>11</sup> Plut., *De Mus.* X; Strabo IX, 481, ὡς δ' αὐτως καὶ τοῖς ρυθμοῖς Κρητικοῖς χρῆσθαι κατὰ τὰς ᾠδὰς συντονωτάτοις οὖσιν οὓς θάλητα ἀνευρεῖν, ὥ καὶ τοὺς παιᾶνας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐπιχωρίους ᾠδὰς ἀνατιθέασι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν νομίμων. Cf. 482, Thaletas visited by Lycurgus. Schol. Pind., *Pyth.* II, 127 *supra*.

### NOMOS.

The nome was probably of Cretan origin. In this department of music, however, the evidence of origin is not definitely stated by ancient writers, but must be deduced from legend and tradition. The literary tradition which particularly associates the nome with Crete is found in Proclus.<sup>1</sup> It is said that when the chorus was singing at the Pythian contest, Chrysothemis the Cretan, wearing the singer's robes and bearing

<sup>1</sup> Proclus (Phot., *Bibl.*, 320 Bekker). νόμος γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐπεκλήθη ὅτι τῶν ἀρχαίων χοροὺς ἱσταντων καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν ἢ λύραν ῥδόντων τὸν νόμον, Χρυσόθεμις ὁ Κρήης πρῶτος στολῇ χρησάμενος ἐκπρεπεῖ καὶ κιθάραν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς μίμησιν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μόνος ἦσε νόμον καὶ εὐδοκμήσαντος αὐτοῦ διαμένει ὁ τρόπος τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος. Cf. Archil. Fr. 133, Κρητικοὺς νόμους.

the lyre, first sang the nome alone. There are certain statements in the account which cannot be accepted, for example, the epithet *νόμιμος*. Proclus derives this from *Νόμος*, whereas we know that the god was called *Νόμιμος*. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the singing of the nome at Delphi was first associated with the Cretan Chrysothemis.

Wilamowitz considers the legend a fiction invented for the purpose of establishing Delphi's claim to citharoedic music. Chrysothemis, in his opinion, belonged to the Cretan settlement at Delphi (*Χρυσόθεμις* from *Χρῖσα*). He was represented as singing a monody in the midst of the choral song, in order that the nome might be connected with the paeon, which was always choral and associated with the Delphic Apollo.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen that Chrysothemis is associated by legend with another locality than Delphi, namely Cretan Tarrha. Pausanias names Chrysothemis as the son of Karmanor<sup>3</sup> and the Scholiast on the first Pythian ode says that the son purified Apollo<sup>4</sup> at Tarrha. It is significant that Chrysothemis is represented as impersonating the god, an idea which descends from the archaic conception of priesthood,<sup>5</sup> and that the description of his appearance accords with representations found in Minoan Crete. On the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada,<sup>6</sup> we have a male figure clad in a long robe and playing the seven-stringed lyre, much in the manner in which the god himself is represented, when in the Homeric Hymn he leads his Cretan priests to Pytho.<sup>7</sup>

According to tradition, the nome was especially composed for Apollo and there is proof in the term *ὄμφαλος*, which formed one of the main divisions of the nome, of a definite connection with the cult of Apollo at Delphi. The Doric forms

<sup>2</sup> Wilamowitz, Timotheus, *Die Perser*, 95 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. X, 7, 2 . . . καὶ ἦσε καὶ ἐνίκησεν ἰδὼν Χρυσόθεμις ἐκ Κρήτης οὗ δὲ ὁ πατήρ λέγεται Καρμάνωρ καθῆραι Ἀπόλλωνα.

<sup>4</sup> Boeckh, *op. c.*, II, Part I, 298.

<sup>5</sup> Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 252.

<sup>6</sup> *Mon. Ant.* XIX (1908), Pl. I.

<sup>7</sup> Hom., *Hymn ad Ap.*, 514 ff., φέρμιγγ' ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχων, ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων καλὰ καὶ ὑψη βιβάς . . .



of the divisions of the nome as handed down by Pollux<sup>8</sup> give evidence of the great antiquity of these formal divisions. The notice of the Scholiast on the hypothesis of the Pythian Odes, that one of the parts of the *nomos* was Cretan is important for the question in hand.<sup>9</sup> But the omphalos at Delphi was not originally Apollo's possession and we have seen, under the discussion of Pythios, a connection between the Delphic and the Cretan omphalos of which the latter is undoubtedly the older.<sup>10</sup> We cannot prove that the nome was taken over by Apollo from an older Cretan worship, but it is very probable that such was the case. One use of the nome which undoubtedly dated from very early times was that of the *κραδίας νόμος*. This was an old air, played on the flute while the *καθαρμοί* or *φαρμακοί*, according to a statement of Hesychius,<sup>11</sup> were being whipped with fig branches.<sup>12</sup> This *φαρμακός* ritual belonged to the pre-Apolline Thargelia and was instituted to atone for the death of the Cretan Androgeos. From this fact, it is probable *αἱ κραδίας νόμος* also had some original connection with Crete.

<sup>8</sup> Pollux IV, 66, *μέρη δὲ τοῦ καθαρωδικοῦ νόμου, Τερπάνδρον κατανείμαντος ἔπαρχα, μέταρχα, κατάρωπα, μετακατάρωπα, ὀμφαλὸς, σφραγίς, ἐπίλογος.*

<sup>9</sup> Schol., *Pind. Pyth. I*, 182 (Boeckh), cf. Cretic meter.

<sup>10</sup> Callim., *Hymn ad Iov.*, 45.

<sup>11</sup> Hesych. s. v. *κραδίας νόμος*: *νόμον τινὰ ἐπανλοῦσι τοῖς ἐκπεμπομένοις φαρμακοῖς κράδαις καὶ θρίοις ἐπιραβδιζομένοις.*

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Francke, *Callim.*, 129, otherwise.

## PAEAN.

Ancient tradition derived the paean from Crete.<sup>1</sup> According to Strabo, not only the dance and certain rhythms among the Lacedaemonians were called Cretan, but the paean also was

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, 481, 18, *τὴν τε ὄρχησιν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιχωριάζουσιν καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ παιᾶνας τοὺς κατὰ νόμον ἀδομένους καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν νομίμων Κρητικὰ καλεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ἂν ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμώμενα.*

held to be Cretan in origin. Tradition further made the paeon coeval with the cult of Apollo by ascribing its introduction to the god himself.<sup>2</sup>

It is a significant fact that the cry, *ἰὲ Παῖάν*, which forms the refrain, and which was the earliest characteristic of the paeon, was said to have been uttered first by the inhabitants of Parnassus, when Apollo was engaged in combat with the Python.<sup>3</sup> Apollonius Rhodius puts the cry in the mouth of the Korycian nymphs.<sup>4</sup> These accounts seem to assign the refrain *ἰὲ Παῖάν* to a people present at Delphi when Apollo made his appearance there. Some writers explain the cry as that of Leto, *ἴε παῖ*, "shoot, boy,"<sup>5</sup> which is but a step farther than the explanations already cited. At any rate, the cry was as old as the god at Delphi and would appear to have belonged to the older population there.

The meaning of the refrain *ἰὲ Παῖάν* is not certainly known, but the most probable interpretation recognizes it as a cry for relief from distress. The refrain is commonly used in cases

<sup>2</sup> *Hom. Hymn ad Ap.*, 514,

... ἤμχε δ' ἄρα σφιν ἄναξ Διὸς νιὸς Ἀπόλλων,  
φάρμιγγ' ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχων, ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων,  
καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς. οἱ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἐποντο  
Κρήτες πρὸς Πιθῶ καὶ Ἰηπαῖον' αἶιδον  
οἳοί τε Κρητῶν παῖνες οἳσι τε Μοῦσα  
ἐν στῆθεσσιν ἔθηκε θεὰ μελίγηρην αἰοδῆν.

Schol., *Il.* X, 391, εὐρημα μὲν αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος) ὁ παῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην τοῦ δράκοντος αὐτὸν ἐξεύρεν.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo IX, 422, τοὺς δὲ Παρνασσίους . . . κατατοξέοντος ἐπικελεύειν ἰὲ παῖν ἅφ' οὗ τὸν παιανισμὸν οὕτως ἐξ ἔθους παραδοθῆναι τοῖς μέλλονσι συμπίπτειν εἰς παράταξιν. (Quoting Ephorus.) Callim., *Hymn ad Ap.*, 97.

ἰὲ Παῖον' ἀκούομεν, εἵνεκα τοῦτο  
Δελφός τοι πρῶτιστον ἐφύμνιον εὔρετο λαός,  
ἦμος ἐκηβολίην χρυσέων ἐπεδείκνυστο τόξων.  
Πιθῶ τοι κατιόντι συνήντητο δαιμόνιος θῆρ  
αἰνὸς ὄφις. τὸν μὲν σὺ κατήναρες, ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ  
βάλλων ὥκυν οἰστών. ἐπῆντ' ἔπειτα δὲ λαός  
ἰὲ Παῖον ἱεὶ βέλος, εἰθὺ σε μήτηρ  
γενίειν' ἀοσητήρα. τὸ δ' ἐξέτι κείθεν αἰοῖη

<sup>4</sup> Apoll. Rhod. II, 712,

πολλὰ δὲ Κωρύκκιναι νύμφαι, Πλείστοιο θυγατρεις,  
θαμράντεσσιν ἐπισσιν, Ἰγμε κελήγηναί.  
ἐνθεν δὴ τόδε καλὸν ἐφύμνιον ἐπλετο Φοῖβω.

<sup>5</sup> Athen. 701 C, Δητῶ . . . εἶπεν ἴε παῖ. Δοῦρις, E. M. 469, 41.

where relief is sought from suffering or disease.<sup>6</sup> This explanation accords with that of the Scholiast, who says that the paeon was a hymn, ἐπὶ καταπαύσει λοιμοῦ ἢ καχοῦ. Further, the paeon was originally associated with Paian, the god of healing, a deity distinct from Apollo, in the opinion of most scholars.<sup>7</sup> According to Usener, the god Paian was supplanted by Iatros, Asklepios and other gods of healing. His worship was widespread through the Greek world from a very early date and a trace of his cult is perhaps to be seen in Elis in a legend handed down by Pausanias. Rhea is there represented as entrusting the infant Zeus to the Idaean Daktyls or Kuretes, —Herakles, Paionaios, Epimedes, Iasos and Idas<sup>8</sup> who practiced the art of healing. The question now arises, how, if the hymn was originally an invocation to Paian, it came to be associated with the worship of Apollo at Delphi.

If we examine the sources for evidence in regard to the paeon, we find that it was not used preeminently in "Dorian communities" from earliest times. The Achaeans sang both paeans of thanksgiving and battle paeans.<sup>9</sup> Aside from Delphi, which we shall discuss later, the community that seems especially to have cultivated the paeon was Spartan Amyklai.<sup>10</sup> We have seen that the paeon was sung at the Hyakinthia, originally celebrated in honor of Hyakinthos, a pre-Greek deity

<sup>6</sup> Fairbanks, *A Study of the Greek Paeon*, Cornell Studies, 15; Schol. Ar., *Plut.* 636.

<sup>7</sup> Hes. Fr. 194 (213); Schol. Hom., *Od.* IV, 232; Παϊῶν ἱατρὸς θεῶν, οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀλλὰ κεχωρισμένος. παρὰ μέντοι τοῖς νεωτέροις ὁ αὐτὸς νομίζεται εἶναι. καὶ Ἡσίοδος μάρτυς ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου εἶναι τὸν Παῖωνα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος λέγων: εἰ μὴ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων ὑπὲρ θανάτου σώσσει ἢ καὶ Παῖων, ὃς ἀπάντων φάρμακα οἶδεν. Fairbanks, *op. c.*, 4 ff.; (Eisele), Roscher, *Lex. d. Myth.*, s. v. Paian. Usener, *G. N.* 153 ff. Crete undoubtedly had a god of healing; whether or not he was called by the name Paian we cannot say. On the top of Mt. Juktas Evans discovered an M. M. sanctuary with a pair of clay limbs dedicated to the god. Cf. Petsofa, *B. S. A.* IX, Pl. XII; Karo, *Arch. f. Rel.*, 1913, 255.

<sup>8</sup> Paus. V, 7, 6, Διὸς δὲ τεχθέντος ἐπιτρέψαι Ῥέαν τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν φρουρὰν τοῖς Ἰδαίοις Δακτύλοις, καλονμένοις δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις καὶ Κούρησιν. ἀφικέσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ Ἰδης τῆς Κρητικῆς, Ἡρακλέα καὶ Παιωναῖον καὶ Ἐπιμήδην καὶ Ἴασον τε καὶ Ἰδαν.

<sup>9</sup> *Il.* I, 472; *Il.* XXII, 391.

<sup>10</sup> Xen., *Hell.* IV, 5, 11 οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι αἰεὶ ποτε ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὰ Ὑακίνθια ἐπὶ τὸν παιᾶνα.

of vegetation at Amyklai. The suggestion was made that it was used there in the ritual of Hyakinthos before Apollo's coming.<sup>11</sup> The fact that the song belonged to the god Paian would not have prevented its use in the worship of other gods. In later times it was employed in the worship of Artemis, Asklepios, Hygieia, Athena, Dionysos, Poseidon and Zeus,<sup>12</sup> and it may have been used from the earliest times, whenever help was implored or thanksgiving expressed for relief from ill. The worship of Apollo at Amyklai belonged to the Achaeans, for the Dorians were enemies of Amyklai, so that the paean of Apollo is to be associated in this center with the Achaeans in historic times.

The paean was also sung at Delos. Euripides speaks of the Delian women singing the paean in honor of Apollo and swaying in beautiful dance before the doors of the temple.<sup>13</sup> The paean here cannot be assigned to the Dorians, but belonged to the Ionians.

Finally, the paean was, *par excellence*, the Delphic hymn. The earliest mention of the use of the paean at Pytho is found in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo.<sup>14</sup> In this passage, Apollo leads his Cretan priests to Pytho in triumphal procession after he has slain the Python. The god precedes in solemn measure (*ὄψι βιβάζει*) playing the lyre, and the Cretans follow beating time and singing *ἱεραιήων*, "paeans such as the Cretans sing to whom the divine muse has given the gift of sweet song." Croiset saw in this passage "une allusion très claire à l'origine crétoise du péan."<sup>15</sup> It is significant that the Cretans sing the paean and sing it, as the poet expressly states, according to the fashion of their country. Further, they are the Cretans whom Apollo Delphinios, the Cretan god, led to the shores of Krisa to become the interpreters of his oracle.<sup>16</sup> When, in addition to

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Supra s. v. Hyakinthos*.

<sup>12</sup> Fairbanks, *op. c.*

<sup>13</sup> Eur., *H. F.*, 685-90.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. citation *supra*.

<sup>15</sup> Croiset, *Histoire de la Litt. Grec.* II, 270.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *supra s. Delphinios*.

this tradition which places the paean in the mouth of Cretan priests, we consider the fact that the paeonic meter was consistently attributed to Crete<sup>17</sup> and its introduction into Greece was assigned to the Cretan Thaletas,<sup>18</sup> the evidence for the Cretan origin of the paean appears to be attested by fairly strong evidence. Fairbanks believes that "the paeonic meter was the form in which they cast the Cretan dance rhythm," but that the allusion in the Homeric Hymn "only means that there was a so-called paean dance at Delphi which reminded men of the dances in Crete."<sup>19</sup> He considers the tradition in regard to Thaletas more definite.

The close connection between Krisa and Crete must be admitted. We have seen in the discussion of *Delphinios* that the worship of Apollo Delphinios at Krisa can be traced to Crete. This cult had associations with Tarrha, a remote center of purification in Crete, where Karmanor and Chrysothemis were at home. The former is said to have purified Apollo from the pollution incurred in slaying the Python; the latter sang the first νόμος at Delphi. These associations with Tarrha are too rare to be inventions. The Homeric Hymn expressly states that the Cretan priests sang paeans at their advent at Delphi, and paeans which were of a distinctly Cretan character. There is reason to believe that they brought these with them from Crete to the Delphic settlement. We know that the Cretans were skilled in music and dancing. The hyporcheme was Cretan, and in early times may not have been differentiated from the paean.<sup>20</sup> The nomos was probably Cretan. The Cretic and Paeonic rhythms were particular contributions of Crete to the early music of Sparta.<sup>21</sup> Finally, the "inventor" of the paean was Thaletas, the Cretan, who brought about Sparta's second musical reform.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Strabo, 481.

<sup>18</sup> Porphyry, *Vit. Pythag.* 32.

<sup>19</sup> Fairbanks, *op. c.*, 46.

<sup>20</sup> Plut., *De Mus.* IX; Smyth, *op. cit.*, LXXI.

<sup>21</sup> Plut., *De Mus.* 1141 A; 1143 B. & D. Schol. Ar., *Eq.* 393.

<sup>22</sup> Strabo, 481; Porphyry, *Vit. Pythag.*, ἁδων παῖδνας ἀρχαίους τινὰς τῶν θαλήτος



The Cretan origin of the paean explains its widespread use in Homeric times. The Achaeans probably took over this hymn from Crete and from there Delos also may have acquired it. The close connection between the two islands is proved by excavations, by the Theseus cycle of myths and by the Cretan priests who murmur prayers about the altar in Delos.<sup>23</sup> Lastly, Spartan Amyklai was deeply dyed in pre-Greek influence, as is shown by excavations, by its name, by its god Hyakinthos, and its archaic festivals, the *Kopides* and *Hyakinthia*.<sup>24</sup> It was second only to Delphi in the celebrating of the paean, which appears to date from a very early period in Amyklai.

<sup>23</sup> Verg., *Aen.* IV, 146; Gruppe, *op. c.* I, 233. The ancient name of Delos as well as that of Crete was Asteria. Cf. Zeus Asterios.

<sup>24</sup> Nilsson, *op. cit.*, 129 ff.

## V. SUMMARY.

A brief survey of the present investigation has disclosed the fact that Apollo took over into his worship certain cults which emanated from Crete, such as Smintheus, Delphinios, Amyklaios-Hyakinthos, Tarrhaïos. He appropriated the ancient oracle at Pytho, which was probably founded by men of the Aegean stock, and, by displacing an earth goddess of the older religion, he became Pythios. From Crete were derived the cathartic elements prominent in the ritual at Delphi and undoubtedly an important requisite to the cult of Delphinios. Evidence points to the coming of the paeon from Crete, possibly also the nomos; in Crete, the hyporcheme arose. The island may thus be said to have been the source from which the important musical elements were derived which were employed in the worship of Apollo, especially at Delphi and Amyklai.

The evidence has further shown the important relations existing between Crete and Delphi. This has been brought out by the discussion of the Pythian and Delphinian Apollo and by the cults of Agyieus and Tarrhaïos. It is proved by the legends in regard to purification and the presence of Cretan music and musicians at Delphi. And this suggests the reason why Apollo settled at Delphi. Coming down from the North as a great Northern god, he found at Delphi an oracle of importance. This oracle, if not a Cretan foundation, was appropriated by Cretans at a very early date. If it was a *Pelasgian* oracle, belonging to a race considered by many to be a mainland branch of the Minoans, the goddess who possessed it at a remote period was either the Cretan earth goddess or a cult sister. The divination was of an enthusiastic type known to have existed in Crete in the cult of Rhea, and it is doubtless

true that Crete contributed much to the history of enthusiastic divination in Greece. One of the most important tenets of the Delphic oracle was the doctrine of purification, and we have every reason to believe that this doctrine had its roots in Crete. The god with whom this purification ritual was associated was Delphinios, whose cult in Athens, where we can see it at its best, was intimately concerned with purification. That this god was oracular seems improbable. He may have been closely associated with the oracle of Ge, but there is no evidence that he founded this oracle or was originally concerned with divination. It is not impossible that the tradition that Poseidon and Ge once held the Delphic oracle in common, is a reminiscence of the connection of the dolphin god with the oracle at Delphi. Thus the Delphic oracle, according to the evidence cited, was essentially Cretan in character, and the advent of Apollo marks the fusion of Northern and Cretan elements into a great common worship.

The above summary leads to the discussion of several points not heretofore noted in detail in this investigation, namely, the character of the elements appropriated from Crete, the people from whom they were taken over and the time at which this took place; finally, the relation of Apollo to Crete.

It is significant that the elements taken over by Apollo from Crete betray for the most part the characteristics of a primitive religion and reveal Apollo as *Ἀλεξίτακος*, or as the healer. The Pythian cult undoubtedly had something of this character, as the oracle was especially consulted in early times in regard to disease, the propagation of the family, and matters especially concerned with bodily existence. The cult of Delphinios had its ritual of purification, which bore traces of primitive rites of healing. The cult of Apollo Tarrhaïos had similar ceremonies. Smintheus was an averter of plague, Agyieus was the pillar god who warded off evil from the house and at one time probably headed the procession of invaders into Greece as they moved on their way of conquest. The musical elements discussed reveal the same primitive character. The paean was

a song of healing, in origin probably an incantation with magical power. Thaletas was able to heal with his songs; Epimenides was the magically gifted purifier. On the whole, the contribution of Crete toward the development of Apollo worship reveals a religion concerned with rites of healing and aversion.

The antiquity of the cults taken over is revealed by the fact that each of these elder gods had only a *περίφρακτον* or *temenos*. To this enclosure the god gave his own name; the Delphinion, the Sminthion, and the Amyklaion thus bear the marks of this earlier and more primitive age when the god was without a dwelling.

Apollo must have entered Minoan territory under very auspicious circumstances, when the Aegean power was beginning to decay and when the Achaeans were making inroads into the island. The Minoan deities were still uppermost in power and even Apollo, who fought his way into Greece from the beginning,<sup>1</sup> could not do more than gradually take over their cults and attach their names as epithets to his own. Thus he became Apollo Delphinios, Pythios, Smintheus, Tarrhaios. It does not appear that these gods were necessarily assimilated into his cult because of common interests of cult, but because they were in power in the centers to which Apollo came and his worship proved the stronger.

A review of the evidence also reveals the fact that historical Crete of Greek times played a relatively unimportant rôle in the early development of Apolline worship. On the other hand, prehistoric, pre-Greek, non-Greek Crete had a very important influence on Greece in religion, myths, laws and social customs.<sup>2</sup> This non-Greek character of the Minoan culture is especially

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his combats with the Python, Typhon, Tityos, the Pallantids, the Niobids.

<sup>2</sup> Prinz, *Ath. Mitth.*, 1910, 149 ff. Evans, *J. H. S.*, 1912, 283, "*Minoan and Mycenaean Elements in Hellenic Life.*" The writer shows that if the Achaeans founded this culture, because of the continuity of the civilisation, they must have entered Crete in the neolithic age. Cf. Karo, *Arch. f. Rel.* VII, 156 = "1000 years of Achaean domination;" Dörpfeld, *N. J.*, 1912, 1-26, presents another view.



significant, and it is to this layer of civilisation that the cults and ritualistic elements which we have treated belong. These early Cretans were not Achaeans, for the script used in Crete was wholly foreign to the Achaeans. The difference between the Mycenaean culture in Crete and on the mainland is additional proof of this fact. The people who must be named as the leaders of this civilisation were the Eteocretans.<sup>3</sup> By modern authorities they are identified with the Kafti<sup>4</sup> who were recognized by the Egyptians in 1600-1500 B. C. as a mighty sea-people. They are represented on Egyptian monuments much as we find them on the wall paintings in Crete. The origin of the Eteocretans is uncertain. By Evans and Mackenzie<sup>5</sup> they have been traced to Libya, but this conclusion is not accepted by most scholars. Associated with them were two other enigmatic peoples, the Lycians (Lukki), in Asia Minor, who went from Crete to the mainland, and the Tursa, who were later the Tyrsenians of Lemnos and the Etruscans of Italy.<sup>6</sup>

Apollo came to Crete when this pre-Greek civilisation was in its decline and when the Achaeans had a foot-hold in the island. He was not native in Crete and had no important family ties there. Zeus preceded him in the island and attached himself to the great mother goddess, perhaps displacing a native son. Apollo became the father of Philandros and Phylakides by the Cretan nymph Akakallis who belonged in western Crete, or he had a son, Miletos, by the same goddess, or he was the son of Korybas,<sup>7</sup> but he had no binding ties in Crete. It is possible that his attachment to Leto may have begun in Crete but it is more probable that this association occurred later, when the "sub-Aegean" culture was at its height, on the shores of Asia Minor. We know of a prehistoric migration

<sup>3</sup> *Odyss.* XIX, 175; *Hdt.* I, 171; *Strabo*, 221, 475, 478.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. name Kaptōr for Crete, among the Israelites; *Hall, B. S. A.*, VIII, 157, *Keftiu and the Peoples of the Sea*.

<sup>5</sup> Mackenzie, *B. S. A.* XII, 216; *Evans, J. H. S.*, 1897, 374 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Eduard Meyer, Gesch. d. Alter.* I, 2, 677 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Cicero, De Nat. Deor.* III, 23; *Clem. Alex., Protrep.*, 24.



of Apollo Lykeios from Argos *via* Crete to the coast of Asia Minor,<sup>8</sup> where Leto appears to have had an important cult. The name Lato was extant in Crete from an early date and we know that Miletos was a Cretan foundation.<sup>9</sup> Doubtless the name was used in Crete for a goddess there, an offshoot of the Cretan mother. This name came to be applied in later times to an important mother goddess of Lycia.<sup>10</sup> When the Northern god Apollo, the common deity of all Greek stocks, came into Lycia, he was affiliated with the Lycian Leto just as in Crete the worship of Zeus was attached to that of the Cretan mother. It is probable that Apollo displaced a native deity who stood in a similar relation to this Asiatic mother goddess.<sup>11</sup> In Lycia, according to this theory, the Northern Apollo became *Ἀητοῖδης*.<sup>12</sup> It remained for the epic to establish this relationship on a firm basis.

<sup>8</sup> Farnell, *op. c.*, IV, 122, 123.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *supra* on *Delphinios*. Dr. Robinson informs me that the Mycenaean site of Miletos has been found and that the vases discovered, now in Berlin, and shortly to be published, prove the Cretan connections.

<sup>10</sup> Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, 1911, 90, contests the view that Leto was aboriginal and paramount in Lycia, because the proof of her cult is late. He thinks that Apollo was supreme there in early times.

<sup>11</sup> Apollo Laribenos, Ramsay, *A. J. A.*, 1887, 348 (Hierapolis); *J. H. S.*, 1889, 216.

<sup>12</sup> Vs. the view of Wilamowitz, Leto = Lycian *lada*, see Farnell, l. c.

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